

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

## 'Decolonizing' the press

In the guise of "decolonizing" the press, many third-world countries are seeking international sanction to put new shackles on it. The United States and other free countries would be the losers, as well as developing nations that vitally need the free flow of information and ideas to keep moving forward. There could be such upside-down results as a demand that American correspondents abroad be suppressed by their own government, contrary to its own Constitution.

It is the cruel height of irony that a movement in this repressive direction should have gathered force under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) — which was conceived to "promote the free flow of ideas by word and image." Every effort to restore that original thrust must be made during the General Conference of UNESCO in Nairobi.

What has to be resisted, among other things, is a drive for UNESCO approval of an insidious "declaration of fundamental principles governing the use of mass information media." One of its key articles says that "states are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction." This is the passage that could provide the excuse for a third-world government to pressure a correspondent from the U.S. or elsewhere by demanding that his own government curb his activities.

Even though the declaration would not be binding, its approval by the UNESCO conference would permit governments to exploit it in their own interests. This despite the rhetoric of the stated intentions of "strengthening peace and international understanding and combating war, propaganda, racism, and apartheid."

**Carter's foreign fumble**

Listening to the two presidential candidates these past few weeks, one can easily conclude that neither George Ford nor Jimmy Carter is too adept in the field of foreign policy.

No sooner had the President rocked public sensitivities with his mistake on Eastern Europe than Mr. Carter stumbled over the issue of Yugoslavia, stating he would never use American troops to defend that nation against a Soviet invasion. Mr. Ford promptly — and fairly — seized upon that remark and has been pressing his attack ever since. Even Henry Kissinger has been understood.

We frankly do not understand Mr. Carter's position. It may comfort some Americans to think he would not commit United States military might abroad lightly. But surely it is the prime requirement of diplomacy to keep one's options open. The fact is that Yugoslavia is not a country off in the hinterland somewhere. It sits on the edge of the Soviet empire and is relevant to political and military stability in Western Europe. The Russians may have no intention of invading it after Tito is no longer on the scene; but it is folly to suggest to them the U.S. would sit idly by if they did choose to be aggressive.

As the Secretary of State commented, "It is important that the other side understand that

## Hungary's revolt 20 years after

Two days after the United States election will come the 20th anniversary of that sad fourth of November when 2,000 Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary and crushed the revolt symbolized by the people's toppling of a giant statue of Stalin. Hungary understandably is not officially marking the anniversary of the beginning of the uprising. But it could not be overlooked in the United States when the election campaign had not drawn new attention to continued Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and America's hands-off attitude toward it. For the U.S. welcomed 40,000 Hungarian refugees in 1956, and they have overwhelmingly become productive citizens.

Life in Hungary has become brighter and less oppressive since those days. Hungarian musicians mingle jazz and the electronic avant-garde at Switzerland's Montreux Jazz Festival. The so-called Fifty-Sixers, who defected and openly visit their homeland, Communist Party chief János Kádár has presided over the evolution of an innovative economy mixing state control and market incentives.

Yes, things are better than they were when the uprising began. Twenty years later, a reported 3,000 dead and 15,000 in prison, but Soviet forces are still stationed in Hungary. Freedom is at the pleasure of the authorities.

With almost now such a prominent part of the American political discourse, the Hungarian heroes of 1956 should not be forgotten. Their sacrifice deserved at least recognition of Soviet ways — and not only in Hungary, though Americans have much to be proud of beyond their contribution to their fellowmen. Now such leftists are physicianing



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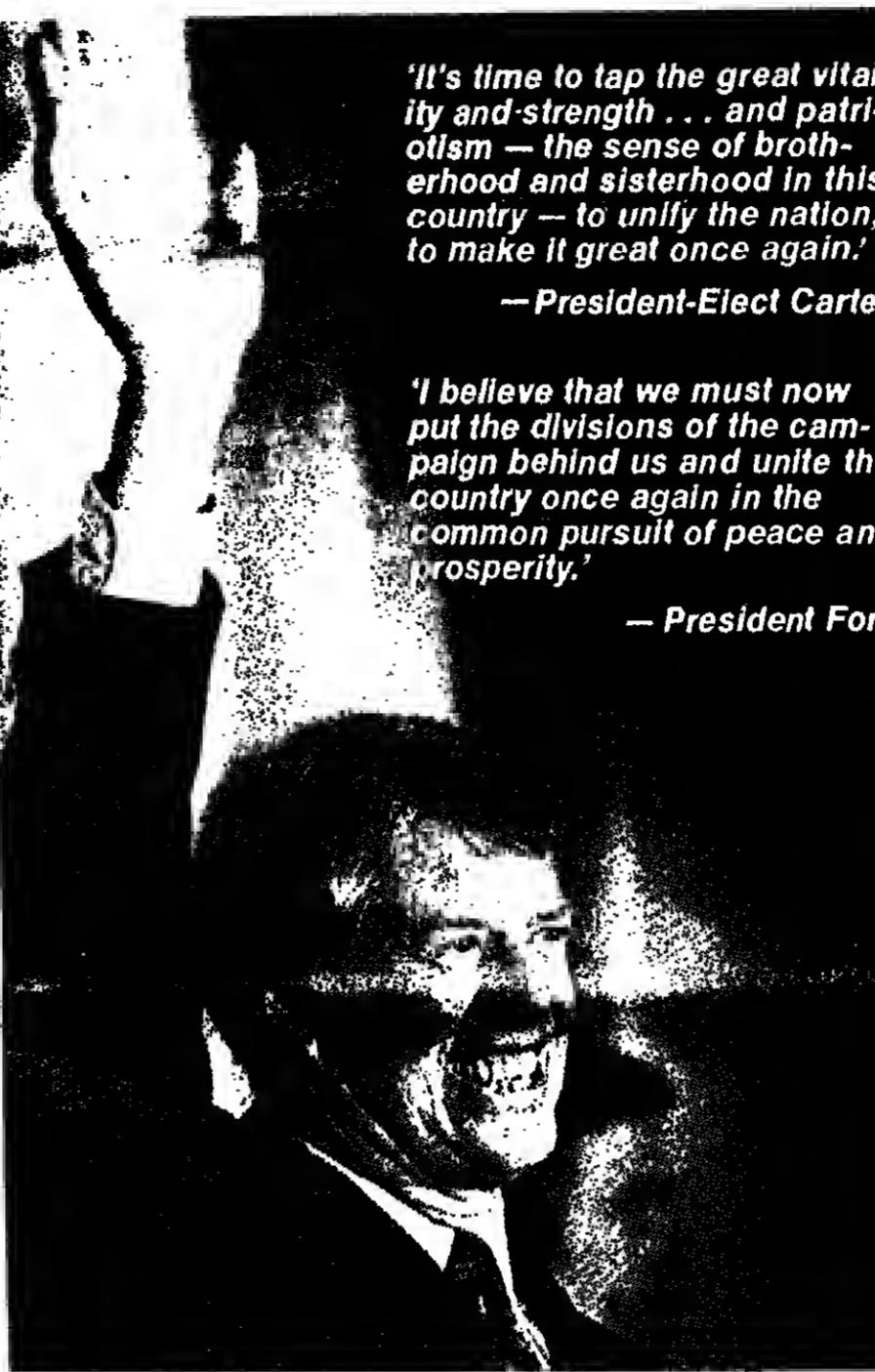
Monday, November 8, 1976

60¢ U.S.

## Mr. Carter goes to Washington

Economy, unemployment and overtures to Western Europe are among top priorities

By John Hillin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor



*'It's time to tap the great vitality and strength... and patriotism — the sense of brotherhood and sisterhood in this country — to unify the nation, to make it great once again.'*

— President-Elect Carter

*'I believe that we must now put the divisions of the campaign behind us and unite the country once again in the common pursuit of peace and prosperity.'*

— President Ford

confusing, and wasteful agencies and bureaus of government which he said make Washington ineffective.

Welfare also will get early Carter attention. The President-Elect would like to see the federal government assume virtually all welfare expenditures. He would like cash payments to replace a multiplicity of programs like food stamps. And he favors payment equalized in states as diverse as Mississippi and New York. Washington probably will get an early look at its new White House resident, who hopes to make a running start when he takes over.

\*Please turn to Page 12

## Coming soon: a foreign policy without Kissinger

By Joseph C. Harrack

Jimmy Carter's election victory in the United States makes one immediate change in foreign policy. It puts SALT II talks on ice until after the inauguration in January.

Conceivably, the Soviets might like to push ahead now on the theory that they could get a better deal on strategic arms limits from the Ford administration than will be available to them in Carter days ahead. Also, until January they will be able to deal with the Henry A. Kissinger they know. After January in Washington is for them *terra incognita*. (The Soviets never got around to making the acquaintance of Mr. Carter until he suddenly emerged as the Democratic presidential nominee. By then he was too busy with his campaign to notice their efforts to talk to him.)

But it would be impolitic for President Ford to make a major foreign policy commitment during the remainder of his term in office. He knows Washington too well to do it. And even were he so inclined, he would be repudiated by the Democratic majority in the Senate.

So SALT II goes on ice, until after January and until the new administration has picked up the threads of American relations with the Soviet Union.

But the SALT talks seem likely to be the only place where the change-over from Ford to Carter administrations will make much immediate difference in foreign policy. This proposition is, of course, subject to change. At this writing Mr. Carter has not begun to disclose his Cabinet plans. When we know the names of the people who will be advising him on foreign policy, a more precise forecast will be in order.

The leading candidate for Secretary of State seems to be Cyrus Roberts Vance, a New York lawyer, who served in the Department of Defense through the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He was Deputy Secretary of Defense from 1964 to 1967. Since then he has shared with George W. Ball the role of unofficial "shadow" Secretary of State. Mr. Ball, who was Deputy Secretary of State during much of the Kennedy and Johnson years, backed Hubert H. Humphrey for the Democratic nomination, hence is presumed to be a second choice.

The Middle East is likely to be an important interest of American diplomacy early in the new administration.

## British pound needs

### British help

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor



## Is there a role for U.S. in Ulster?

By Francis Renni  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

Jimmy Carter says his views on the Northern Ireland problem have been "misrepresented" on Britain's side of the Atlantic.

He insists he does not favor violence as part of a solution. But the fact is, no sensible English or Irish politician really believed he did — however, they may have whipped up their indignation for the benefit of the home audience.

What lay behind the thunderstorm of exaggerated outrage, the strained chorus of "stop

playing politics with the lives of British citizens," was a real terror of any kind of American influence being brought to bear on the Ulster crisis.

Both have emphasized, in speech after speech, that Britain must pay its own way in the world. Both warn that a bare slogan lies ahead.

Yet neither is ready for an emergency government of national union. Labour Prime Minister Callaghan is still confident that his basic strategy of a social contract with the trade unions and encouragement of export-oriented manufacturing industry will pull Britain out of its slump. Mrs. Thatcher repeats the orthodox Conservative argument that government must cut public spending and increase incentives to private enterprise.

Meanwhile, the present changes in the shape

of the cultural revolution, spearheaded by Chairman Mao in 1958, a great shaking-up that rocked the nation for about three years. To Mao that upheaval was a way of restoring China's revolutionary zeal. But it resulted in deep friction between the leftists who supported Mao and the moderates or pragmatists who were his followers. It is easy enough to find more objective justifications for the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

\*Please turn to Page 12

By Alan J. Forbes, staff artist

Britain must pay its own way

London

James Callaghan

By Alan J. Forbes, staff artist

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## Highlights



**RHOEDIA'S FUTURE.** In a Monitor interview, Joshua Nkomo explains his feelings about the Geneva talks. Page 14.

**RISING STAR.** In a Monitor interview, Italian actor Giancarlo Giannini claims, "On the screen I can influence people more than any political leader." And he is probably right. Page 24.

**OFF INTO THE SUNSET.** A Monitor writer on America's last log drive. Page 16.

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY.** To sum up his response to "Joyce Grenfell Requests the Pleasure," the Monitor reviewer quotes from Miss Grenfell's fan mail, "Dear Madam, thank you very much." Page 25.

**THE QUEEN'S GOVERNORS.** Australia's Governor-General Sir John Kerr is still on the receiving end of boos and eggs for his dismissal of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam. And in South Australia an aboriginal has been chosen to be the new governor — an appointment that pleases some, annoys others. Pages 7 and 30.

## Index

## FOCUS

## More East Germans ask to leave

By David Mutch

Bonn

Between 50,000 and 120,000 East Germans have asked their government to grant them emigration visas in the past year. They want to live in West Germany.

Western correspondents working in East Germany, diplomats, and human rights organizations in West Germany are all reporting a remarkable trend: a considerable percentage of East Germans have lost their fear of just asking directly to be let out.

Some who have made a dozen such requests unsuccessfully write to such organizations as the United Nations. A spokesman for the Society for Human Rights in Frankfurt said, "A group of 67 people from Riesa signed and sent a petition in July this year complaining they had had no response from the authorities about their applications to emigrate."

Experts on East Germany here in West Germany give several reasons why East Germans, especially the young, are more bold in stating their desire to leave:

• Relatively speaking, there has been a liberalizing trend in East Germany that is a direct result of détente.

The treaty with West Germany has brought millions of West Germans into East Germany to visit families. The treaty states that divided families can be reunited. And in the case of marriages and funerals in

volving immediate family, East Germans are given travel visas to West Germany.

While workers, who are in very short supply in East Germany, often find it difficult to leave, retired East Germans usually have no problem in obtaining travel visas or in even moving permanently to West Germany.

That part of the text of last summer's Helsinki declaration dealing with the freer movement of persons and ideas has been making its way to the hands of East German citizens.

The documents have been published in West Germany and are sent to East Germans who request them from human rights organizations in the West. These agreements state, for one thing, that signatory states (East Germany is one) shall review all requests of their own citizens to emigrate.

• West German television and/or radio is heard by an overwhelming majority of the 17 million East Germans, so they are aware of the rights that are being granted through international agreements their government signs.

The trend has produced some negative results. A spokesman for the Human Rights Organization in Frankfurt says that a number of the signatories of the petition in Riesa have been interviewed and warned by East German internal security police.

Meanwhile, it was recently reported in 1975 189,000 more people left West Germany than emigrated into it. Given one crowding and unemployment here, the freedom to emigrate, there is no problem that arises from this trend. It might say it just makes more room for East Germans who want to come over.

The state has other methods of encouraging emigration as well. The West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* reported that a young woman who applied to emigrate was offered a new apartment if she would withdraw her request.

In another case, according to *Der Spiegel*, a director of a factory tried to hire a worker who had applied to emigrate. This is not an unusual step. But in this case a factory union stepped in and said he was a good worker and that his application was his "personal business." The man was fired.

It is impossible to say how many East Germans succeed each year in obtaining permission to leave their country. The figure of 10,000 has been used often. About half of these involve reunions of families in cases where marriage is planned. Many of the emigrants are retired and can no longer work.

Another estimated 5,000 manage to do East German border guards and cross illegally.

There is considerable speculation whether the increasing pressure on the East German Government to grant visas will affect détente. This is a complicated question that will be answered in the course of events.

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Monday, November 8, 1976

U.S. scolded for energy waste

By Jim Browning  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

Energy experts shake their heads with concern when they talk about the patchwork American energy conservation program.

The International Energy Agency (IEA) has recently published a report effectively warning that the United States is still living in a dream world at cheap energy which will not last much longer.

Unless things change, the US faces a painful awakening, it says.

Contradictory as it may sound, the IEA says the solution is to gradually raise gas and oil prices to perhaps twice what they are now.

It is a proposal which both U.S. and international energy experts study expect to be ignored because it is almost impossible to persuade the American people it is good for them, especially during a presidential election campaign.

The Democrats oppose price increases, and the Republican administration, as the IEA noted with regret, has shelved its commitment to further oil price increases.

The Ford administration remains officially committed to raising oil prices to world market levels, however, and the people who developed that policy also had much to do with the report published by the American-led IEA.

The IEA points out that the U.S. and Canada (which has similarly cheap prices) use almost half the energy consumed by the Western industrial world. The report argues that as much as 50 percent of total American energy use could be saved if conservation efforts were better.

While a gallon of gas costs around 80 cents in the U.S., the price has just been raised to over \$2 here in France, where almost all oil must be imported from the Middle East. The French have placed a heavy tax on gasoline in a concerted and unpopular effort to force conservation.

There is evidence that higher gasoline prices do not lead people to drive less, but they do provide an incentive for other conservation activities.

Starting Oct. 25 Madrid, in keeping with the government's goal of energy conservation, has been thrust into half-darkness after 8 p.m. on orders of the city authorities. The partial blackout has not dimmed the city's nightlife completely but some of the glow is gone.

Many neon signs on stores are turned off.

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Madrid's lights dim — but not the television sets

Madrid loses some of its glow

By Joe Gundelman  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid

The rain in Spain falls darkly on the plain — at least in Madrid, that is.

With soaring energy bills, underlying fears of another possible Arab oil embargo, and a generally ailing economy, Spain's once glittering, throbbing capital now will have to trowel with its sorrows.

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Various city buildings have been reduced to half-light. Madrid monuments also have cut illumination, except for the Prado Museum, which houses one of the world's largest collections of Goya. It is kept search-light bright — prison style — for security reasons.

Call goes out to save

The steps are far from symbolic. Throughout Spain town and city governments have been asked to act to reduce energy consumption. The energy crisis has turned the country's economy topsy-turvy.

The oil price hike severely hurt the technician-engineered "economic miracle" achieved in the period from 1968-73 when the growth rate, at 7 percent, was second only to Japan's. A 1973 \$600 million trade surplus became a \$3 billion trade deficit — one of the largest in the world.

Thus, earlier this month Madrid, in a move to try and trim the \$4.3 billion oil bill, set 62 m.p.h. speed limits and ordered television transmissions ended by 11:30 p.m.

Government criticized

The energy conservation program seems to be generally observed by the people, but there are complaints that the government itself is failing.

Ornamental fountains outside some official buildings have remained lit well beyond official deadlines. Television continues transmission until midnight, despite the 11:30 deadline.

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Washington's new man in Bonn

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn

The new U.S. Ambassador to West Germany, Walter J. Stoessel Jr., has arrived here to take up his appointment. A specialist on East European affairs, he is also well informed about Western Europe. He will present his credentials Oct. 27.

Mr. Stoessel was ambassador to the Soviet Union from January, 1974, until appointed to Bonn.

He served as ambassador to Poland from 1968 to '72. While there he had key talks with Peking representatives which helped prepare Henry Kissinger's secret trip to Peking from Pakistan. These preparations led to President Nixon's China visit in 1972.

Mr. Stoessel was ambassador to the Soviet Union from January, 1974, until appointed to Bonn.

Exposure in Soviet affairs is directly helpful for the top U.S. diplomat in West Germany.

German affairs are given top priority by the Soviet Union, and history has given the Russians an almost chronic preoccupation with Germans.

A foreign-affairs specialist here says, "It is an asset that Mr. Stoessel knows the Soviet Union because of the 'complicated' relationship with the U.S. High Commission. He was in Paris at the U.S. Embassy from 1965 to '68. He gained NATO experience when assigned to West Berlin." At the regular four-power meetings over Berlin, Mr. Stoessel will meet directly with the Soviet ambassador to East Germany. He also has to guide the so-called Bonn group, made up of representatives from the U.S., France, Great Britain, and West Germany, which meets here

regularly to deal with the many questions about Berlin.

Mr. Stoessel took up his earlier appointment in Moscow at the height of U.S. efforts to increase its influence in the Arab world vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

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# Europe

## Russian hierarchy stays put

Brezhnev still No. 1 at legislative session

By David K. Wills  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor



Kosygin: still in favor

Moscow  
At the far end of the Kremlin Palace hall, so vast that three aircraft hangars could be fitted in with room to spare, sat the rulers of the Soviet Union in three tiers of dark blue suits.

With TV lights flashing from the gold medallions pinned to their jackets, they read documents, chatted, doffed, and listened to the work of the Supreme Soviet (legislature) beginning in front of them. Their lineup signaled to the rest of the world that:

The time for outward confirmation of reported maneuvering for succession is joyful, announced party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev still had not come. The only new face belonged to an industrial manager little known until this week: Yakov P. Ryabov. As a newly elected member of the party Secretariat (and 22 years younger than Mr. Brezhnev), he was among the leaders for the first time. He sat in the front row right across the center aisle from Mr. Brezhnev himself.

Although Premier Alexei Kosygin did not step forward to deliver the main speech on the latest five-year plan as he had done for the previous plan (in 1971), he was clearly still in favor with Mr. Brezhnev. He sat beside the party leader during the legislative session, chatting and smiling, turning now and then to exchange words with head of state Nikolai Podgorny on his right. Speculation is that Mr. Kosygin is headed for honorable retirement some time next year.

Defense spending for next year is down 200 million rubles to 17.2 billion rubles (about \$22 billion). This is seen by Western analysts, not as a true indication of the defense budget (which is swelled by large sums in other categories), but as a sign that the Kremlin does want more talk on disarmament — and a reminder that, although the U.S. defense budget is going up, the Kremlin wants to go the opposite way. A similar cut was made two years ago.

Westerners were puzzled by the lack of changes in the leadership ranks after the Central Committee meeting earlier in the week. They had expected a clue to Mr. Kosygin's future and the promotion of newly appointed First Deputy Premier Nikolai A. Tikhonov, to

at least an overwhelming membership of the Politburo. But none of this happened.

It could be an intended contrast in elections in the West, said one analyst, or it could be that Mr. Brezhnev feels so well and so much in command that he has simply postponed succession changes until later. But he cannot postpone them for long, analysts believe.

The single new man may owe his promotion and his prominent place on the basis of his work in reorganizing heavy industry in the Sverdlovsk area (which is closest to Westerners, presumably because of defense plants there). On Jan. 17 Mr. Ryabov wrote an article in Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, about successes in amalgamating smaller plants into large ones.

This has led to speculation that he will be doing the same things on a broader scale now — or that he may be moving into the role long played by Secretarial member Dimitri F. Ustinov, who was appointed Minister of Defense earlier this year. Mr. Ustinov's departure from the Secretariat, although expected, was not announced.

Mr. Ryabov is known to be a protégé of Mr. Brezhnev's heir apparent, Andrei P. Kirilenko. In the early 1960s he was active in the Sverdlovsk city party apparatus.

First of two articles. Next: "Half-free and a firm hand on dissent."

## W. German generals fired for defending Nazi flier

By David Macht  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

In firing two top Air Force generals for defending a Nazi wartime air ace, West German Defense Minister Georg Leber has driven home the point that military tradition and comradeship must be subordinate to political judgment and civilian rule.

The men dismissed were the Air Force's second highest-ranking officer, Lt. Gen. Walter Krupinski, and his deputy, Maj. Gen. Karl-Helmut Franke.

They were fired for remarks made to report-

ers about a recent squadron reunion at a German air base. Germany's most decorated World War II airman, Stuka pilot Hans-Ulrich Rudel, appeared at the rally. He is said to have been one of Hitler's favorite pilots.

The political black mark against this pilot, however, is that even after 1945 he defended Hitler, as the newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* describes it, "long after everyone had to know about the crimes of the National Socialist (Nazis) government."

The general defended Mr. Rudel's appearance at the gathering. General Krupinski had flown with Mr. Rudel during the war.

Political observers said the two officers

could have escaped with a severe reprimand.

However, the generals were quoted as saying:

"Mr. Rudel had as much right to express

opinion as 'former communists who sit in the [German] Parliament.'

The generals pointed to the example of Social Democratic (SPD) whip, Herbert Wehner, who was in Moscow during part of the war and who later made his way to Sweden, jailed, read the Bible, joined the Lutheran Church, and left communism.

Report of these comments drew from 40 SPD members of Parliament who demanded the dismissal of the two officers.

They proposed amnesties for the two officers.

# Asia

## Can Vietnam recover its lost 'fighting will'?

By William P. Latch  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Bangkok, Thailand

Vietnam may be about to significantly shake up its ruling Workers Party because of what is described as the "bewitching" of party cadres by a materialistic life-style, resulting in their loss of "fighting will."

These indications come from recent issues of *Hoc Tap*, the official organ of the Vietnamese Communist Party, or Workers Party (VWP) as it is properly known.

In a surprisingly candid article, VWP Politburo member Nguyen Duy Trinh says Vietnam's transition to socialism is showing "serious shortcomings" and that revolutionary change is required to remedy the situation. He attributes these shortcomings to "the decrease in the fighting will of a number of cadres" and he adds that the lack of "revolutionary qualities" has led to "ethical errors" that have had "serious political consequences throughout the country."

Exactly what errors Mr. Trinh is referring to is not clear, but the article specifically singles out party promotions that have come by virtue of personal relationships rather than personal ability and what the author terms as increasing "individualism" on the part of some cadres.

The comments of Mr. Trinh, who is also the Foreign Minister of Vietnam, are seen by observers in Bangkok as part of a continuing campaign designed to revitalize the now-softening revolutionary fervor of party members after a year and a half of quiescent reactivation. The beginnings of the campaign were signaled by a Politburo directive issued last July calling for all soldiers and party members to re-examine their revolutionary resolve and to further strive for party unity. Since the issuing of the directive, the campaign has been reaching an increasingly intensive tempo, and the Vietnamese news media these days commonly carry criticisms of party members who have taken the "wrong path" as well as discussions on the proper virtues of a good cadre.

This is attributed to the party's apparent difficulty in transforming itself from the wartime footing maintained since its inception to one in which it has complete political power but also the formidable tasks of governing and reconstructing the third largest socialist state in the world. Not the least of the new regime's problems are the psychological effects that have been nurtured by the direct contact between cadres and the remnants of the political and economic systems they succeeded in destroying after 30 years of war.

Many party members, accustomed to the austereities of a peasant revolutionary war, apparently have been impressed enough with the material abundance of the formerly capitalist Saigon that they have been pulled away from their revolutionary commitments. Another recent *Hoc Tap* article rebukes these members and cadres for "failing to preserve their own revolutionary qualities." This may allude to the increasing corruption of cadres reported by Vietnamese refugees, some of whom profess to have bought their way out of Indo-China.

The party leaders clearly seem concerned about the waning of revolutionary commitment and the consequences this may have for the revolution. The question is whether the situation is as serious as it would come at a critical juncture in the internal politics of Vietnam, whose political reunification is yet to be completely accomplished and whose rebuilding program are necessarily involving increasing difficulties.



Communist cadres relaxing: the party doesn't like the picture

### Korean mystery man: success and a bribery charge

By Louise Swickey  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington — The rocketing social success of Park Tong-sun on the Washington social scene made him an ideal middleman between U.S. rice dealers and the South Korean Government, says an acquaintance here of Mr. Park.

"When they saw all the press publicity about his being high society in Washington, the South Korean Government became more confident that [he] was the guy who should become the lobbyist for the government," says one Park acquaintance.

"There was no question — everyone knew he was involved in this rice business. But he gave a different impression to the American public, which was very naive. He is a soft-spoken type of guy, round, and he ingratiated himself with Washingtonians, who were not aware of his true connections, says the South Korean source.

This Park acquaintance was referring to allegations that Mr. Park's party and gift-giving were financed mostly by commissions he and the South Korean Government pressed from U.S. rice dealers: making federally subsidized rice sales to South Korea under the Food for Peace program.

Another acquaintance of Mr. Park's describes him as being "very polished, very smooth... [he] gave the super buffets, fabulous food, and... money was no object." A graduate of Georgetown University who had long had roots in the Washington community, Mr. Park had helped found the posh Georgetown Club. It was the scene of many of

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# United Nations

## Proposed fund insufficient to feed the hungry

By Richard Critchfield  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Rome  
Prospects are bright that a long-delayed \$1 billion UN fund to help the hungriest countries grow more food finally will come into being.

Saudi Arabia has hinted it probably will give an extra \$30 million to enable UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to formally establish the fund by mid-November.

At a meeting in Rome Sept. 30, Iran broke a two-year deadlock by agreeing to increase its donation by \$20 million to \$125 million. Britain, Denmark, Norway, and Austria also agreed to help raise the total.

This ended a prolonged political disagreement between the developed nations and the oil producers about who should pay the lion's share for "third world" agricultural development.

Indeed, complacency was fostered by a

When the fund was proposed at the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger pledged \$200 million from the United States, which Congress has approved.

But Dr. Kissinger wanted the oil-producing countries to match the \$500 million that the West was to raise to establish that food and oil policies cannot be kept separate.

At first the oil nations said they would put up \$400 million and not a penny more. They maintained that world hunger was not a product of oil prices, but of centuries of exploitation by the developed countries.

But now the developed countries have raised their pledge to \$550 million, and the oil countries have promised \$420 million.

For two years a kind of "You first, Henry; After you, Ali," dialogue meant that no new help went to the needy Africans and Asians.

Indeed, complacency was fostered by a

marked, if probably temporary, improvement in world food supplies. Production rose just 2 percent in 1975, a hairsbreadth ahead of annual world population growth of 1.9 percent but below a total rise of 3 percent in demand because of higher incomes. This year a 6 percent increase in world food production is expected, largely because of agricultural recovery in the Soviet Union and a favorable Asian monsoon.

World food reserves of 112 million tons are the highest since 1973, when they reached 120 million tons. But this is still only 18 percent of consumption, not the 17-18 percent experts consider safe. Reaching that level would take at least three more years of record harvests.

And higher costs for food, oil, and fertilizer have increased the poorest countries' current account deficits from \$3.9 billion in 1973 to \$12.7 billion in 1975 and something above \$13 billion this year.

Inflation during the two-year delay has eroded by 20 percent the real value of the \$1 billion fund at a time when agricultural aid is dropping.

The World Bank, the single biggest donor to irrigation works, fertilizer production, and other agricultural projects in the "third world," will reduce funding to agriculture by \$230 million to \$1.6 billion in fiscal 1976.

So the world is no closer to coming to grips with its food problem.

The reluctance of the rich to finance any aid approaching this magnitude has led to a search for alternatives to help the poor countries overcome chronic food shortages. World Bank director Robert S. McNamara favors direct aid to the small farmer, the peasants on one or two-acre plots who produce 95 percent of the food in Afro-Asia.

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## New governor of S. Australia: aboriginal chosen

By Ronald Vickers  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia  
On Dec. 1 an event unprecedented in the 188-year history of Australia will take place: An aboriginal pastor, member of a society that until recently had advanced only to a Stone Age culture, will take over as governor of South Australia.

Until the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the Labor Party government of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam last November, it was widely admired and respected for his work among — and struggles on behalf of — his people. However, many Australians, including some long-term supporters of aboriginal causes, are deeply concerned about the appointment

may not be to the advantage of either the office or to the advancement of aboriginal people.

State governors in Australia are appointed by Queen Elizabeth II on the recommendation of state premiers, just as the governor-general is appointed on the recommendation of the prime minister.

Until the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the Labor Party government of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam last November, it was widely admired and respected for his work among — and struggles on behalf of — his people. However, many Australians, including some long-term supporters of aboriginal causes, are deeply concerned about the appointment

the same time placing the future of all the governors' offices in doubt.

To some, Mr. Dunstan's recommendation is merely a long overdue and well-merited recognition of an outstanding member of the aboriginal population. To others, including some of his own supporters, the Premier's choice places a relatively inexperienced and moderately educated person in a position to which neither his background nor his abilities suit him.

Opponents of the appointment lean over backward to deny that there is any racism in their opinions. They acknowledge Sir Douglas's achievements, his integrity, and his social concern. But, they say, he does not come from a social background that would serve him in dealing with all levels of society.

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# United States

## Windmills: heyday yet to come

By David F. Salisbury

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Warren, Vermont

Half a dozen small windmills spun furiously in the gusty, autumn wind.

They looked puny against the scale of scudding clouds and the rising slope of the White Mountains. Yet, within the next decade, wind machines similar to these may be supplying a significant portion of America's energy needs.

"This industry is in about the same place as aviation was in 1914," said Louis Divine, acting chief of wind energy conversion at the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), gazing at the towers and whirling blades.

Avalon pioneers realized that the turbine would bring revolutionary changes, he continued, but it was difficult to see that by looking at the crude contractions of cloth, wood, and wire that they were building and flying.

But only 10 years later, two U.S. Army pilots had flown around the world. And by 1934, sleek, all-metal, and efficient airliners swept the older-style planes out of the sky.

Mr. Divine is convinced that the technology for catching the wind and putting it to work has reached a similar threshold, and in the next few years will go through a period of rapid change and growth. In the ERDA's latest national energy plan, it is estimated that wind systems may be churning out power equivalent to 6 million barrels of petroleum a year by 1985. And this could mushroom to over 400 million barrels a year by the end of the century.

The primitive wind generators which had prompted Mr. Divine's remarks had been erected for the annual meeting of the American Wind Energy Association, where he outlined the federal wind-energy program.

In its three-year lifetime, the conference has steadily grown. The first meeting was "a handful of people getting together in a basement in Detroit," recalled Don Mayer, founder of North Wind Power Company here. More than 250 people attended this year's event.

Wind power has found its strongest advocates on college campuses, and in the ranks of individual inventors/entrepreneurs.



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photograph

# environment

## Rapid crowding of earth slackens off

By Louise Sweeney  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Worldwatch, an international research organization based here, released its latest study, "World Population Trends: Signs of Hope, Signs of Stress."

The study, written by Dr. Brown, found that the drop in population growth is two-edged. It includes falling birthrates in three major population areas (Western Europe, North America, and East Asia) and rising death rates from food shortages in parts of Asia (India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka) as well as sections of Africa.

World population in 1970 reached 3.5 billion and last year it was up to 3.9 billion. But the survey points out that the rate of growth has slowed by 5 million people a year, plummeting from an annual increase of 80 million in 1975.

In percentages the growth rate has dropped from 1.9 percent to 1.6 percent, the first major decline in world history.

Mr. Brown attributes the falling birthrate to

"the widening availability of family planning services, including contraception and abortion."

The survey notes that the U.S. population growth rate unexpectedly plunged by one-third between 1970 and '75. Mr. Brown attributes the lower rate in part to "unanticipated social factors" beyond family planning. These include "a decline in the marriage rate, women increasingly moving into the labor market (now up to 42 percent), the changing concept young women have of themselves and what they want to do." He pointed out that female enrolments have doubled since 1970 in some graduate schools.

The Worldwatch survey indicates a startling drop in the birthrate in China, which makes up one-fifth of the world's population, from 32 to 19 births per thousand persons. It calls it the "most rapid national drop ever recorded for a five-year span." Mr. Brown describes Chinese Government family planning as "the most aggressive anywhere in the world."

The survey notes that East Asia's population

growth rate is down one-third, largely because of China, and that the North American rate is also down a third. As of 1975, four countries, East Germany, West Germany, Luxembourg, and Austria, brought West European population growth to a halt.

The Worldwatch survey also says that a decline in world food stocks during the 1970s has resulted in a rising death rate from prolonged hunger in poorer countries. In India, for instance, the estimate for 1972 was 1 million deaths from food scarcity.

Mr. Brown points out that the world food surpluses of the '50s and '60s are gone in the '70s; in 1972, world consumption of grain exceeded production for the first time.

In 1970, grain reserves amounted to 80 days of world consumption; now they're down to 30 days, which Mr. Brown calls "just a pipeline off again."

The Worldwatch survey says the resulting food shortage has killed the most individuals.

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From page 1

## \*Mr. Carter goes to Washington

Aides say Mr. Carter probably will go to Washington within two weeks to begin work on the transition toward his take-over Jan. 20. He is likely to spend three or four days a week in the capital until his inauguration.

Actually, Mr. Carter began work for a possible assumption of power last summer when he assembled a 16-member transition team in Atlanta.

The team, headed by young Atlanta lawyer Jack Watson, has assembled a lengthy list of possible appointees to a Carter administration. The names have been arranged by areas of interest, experience, background — a catalog of talent that Mr. Carter can draw upon for hundreds of appointments in the next few months.

Mr. Watson's team has also studied areas that will need quick Carter attention — such as 147 pieces of legislation that will expire next year. They have also studied international treaties which will go out of existence unless Mr. Carter acts quickly upon taking office.

### Long road to recovery

Mr. Carter's record-breaking odyssey for the White House carried him 40,245 miles to 1,029 cities and towns. He made 1,495 speeches. He began almost alone, flying in a tourist-class seat across the country nearly two years ago, and winding up with his own Boeing 727 jet with air to ground computer terminal and a campaign staff that topped 700 persons.

After his unprecedented public exposure, Mr. Carter now is expected to submerge himself in his new job. Close aides suggest that

public appearances will be relatively few in the first year, although he will hold regular press conferences.

His first, and perhaps most important task, will be the selection of his Cabinet and other high-level appointees. He has given no significant hints of the eventual choices.

Some names have been bandied about by political observers, but these are not necessarily indicative of the eventual choices.

Among those mentioned for Secretary of State, for example, have been James Schlesinger, the former Secretary of Defense, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, a Columbia University professor. Mr. Schlesinger has also been mentioned for the Defense job.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Automobile Workers, was instrumental in Mr. Carter's early primary victories, and must be considered a prime choice for Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Lawrence Klein of the University of Pennsylvania has been Mr. Carter's chief economic consultant. He might be in line for the Council of Economic Advisors, if he wants it.

One of the roughest confrontations could involve the federal bureaucracy. Mr. Carter is expected to seek blanket authority to remodel the bureaucracy — slashing agencies and bureaus from the books, and redrawing the lines of power.

He has pledged to cut the present 1,900 federal agencies to only 200. If he goes through with that, some observers think there could be a fireworks display bigger than anything seen during the bicentennial celebration.

From page 1

## \*British pound needs British help

look at Britain's economic prospects. On the basis of the team's report the IMF will decide the terms on which to grant Mr. Callaghan's request for a \$3.8 billion standby credit (the final amount Britain is entitled to draw on as a member of the fund).

The IMF team, headed by expatriate Briton Alan Widstone, is going over the Treasury's books with a fine-tooth comb.

It is a tense, unhappy time here, mirroring the overcast skies, the damp chill of November. In Parliament, beanie-browed Denis Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer, soldiered on, with Conservatives shouting at him to resign, and left-wing Labourites deeply suspicious he may have to make wounding cuts in spending on social programs in order to satisfy Britain's overseas creditors.

The pound, after declining steeply in the last week of October to below \$1.60, still bobs uncertainly in the \$1.58 to \$1.59 range, a prey to every passing rumor.

Outgoing President Ford and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt have reiterated their faith in Britain, and there is hope here that Jimmy Carter's presidential victory will mean even greater sympathy for Britain's

plight. (Mr. Ford's Secretary of the Treasury, William Simon, has been considered one of the most hard-nosed critics of Britain's economic performance, the most unyielding advocate of traditional bankers' ways of solving balance of payments crises — by cutting public spending and squeezing the money supply.)

Fundamentally, Britain's problem is that during the past several years its manufacturing industry has not kept pace, either with the need to raise exports or with domestic demand. Imports have soared while exports have grown at a much slower rate. Since March the pound has fallen from \$2 to under \$1.60 in international exchanges, yet this has not so far stimulated exports. It has only increased the cost of imports.

After an encouraging first-quarter rise in exports this year, the second and third quarters have been disappointing. In the third quarter (July through September), Britain's imports on a sterling basis totaled £7,818 million, or £1,165 million more than exports. Inflation, which had declined to 12 percent, began to rise again and now is close to 14 percent. Unemployment is somewhat less than a million and a half and may increase somewhat as unprecedented 15

percent minimum lending rates squeeze companies of capital needed for expansion.

There is wide agreement among economists that the answer to Britain's problems is not the drastic import curbs and the siege economy advocated by some Labour left-wingers. Mr. Healey has hinted that, in order to meet conditions the IMF may impose, he may have to reverse previous promises and cut public spending before Christmas. (The government's line until now has been that it has prepared extensive cuts for next year, but that to impose draconian cuts precipitously this year would lead to social unrest and prove counterproductive.)

In the starker terms, whatever happens, the housewife is going to have to pay more for her essential shopping needs; her husband's take-home pay is going to increase only marginally, if at all, and jobs are not going to be easier to find.

At the factory level, somehow or other management and the work force are going to have to work together in far greater harmony than heretofore, to increase production and push Britain's goods vigorously out into the world once more. It is not an exciting formula, but it is the only one that seems likely to work.

From page 1

## \*Is there a role for U.S. in Ulster?

doctrine, too, for the protests that have been made against Mr. Carter's "intervention." The company in which he spoke, the so-called Irish National Caucus, has been described as a loose grouping of members of the largely Catholic Northern Ireland Social Democratic & Labour Party, as well as the Ulster National Caucus, a bunch of emigrant Nationalists. Some at least of its members are known to have contacts with the men of violence. It is feared that by fraternizing with them, Mr. Carter may lend respectability to the fund-raisers and gun-runners of the IRA.

London critics of Mr. Carter are also afraid that by parading in his "British Out" button and even hinting at American pressure, he may have given second wind to republican terrorism. He may, it is argued, have put into their heads an idea that was never there before. That of America coming to their rescue.

Such a commission can be seen as a mechanism for interfering in the law and order responsibilities of other states. Though, alternately, it can be seen as an agency for helping the oppressed of all faiths and nations, including or India as well as Ulster.

But again London and Washington need only be alarmed at the emergence of an American agency of international control taking up first the Irish republican cause, and then — who knows? — Scottish, Welsh, Cornish and Manx nationalism, against the allegedly cruel and

repressive English. The prospect of being able to go over the heads of the United Kingdom government to the European Court is already stirring enough apprehension to give a blunt test. The might of the United States has been known to draw blood on the other hand.

Yet there is to be heard in some commonwealth diplomatic circles here a small heraldic voice asking: Why not? Why shouldn't the United States be positively invited and welcomed to intervene? What would be so wrong with a Kissinger Plan for Ireland? Can anyone else get Britain out of the mess? Would American intervention not be much more acceptable than a United Nations intervention by the United Nations with its permanent leftist Afro-Asian majority?

One answer to this is that Kissinger diplomacy hardly saved Vietnam, and has yet to save Rhodesia/Zimbabwe from destruction. And is a tide of Irish-American lobbying the right one on which to base a solution of a very ancient and intricate problem? whose interests would come first?

The British public does not yet seem to be so disengaged with Northern Ireland as to want some wizard from Washington to wave

his magic wand over the problem. But there are some observers who think that morale may rapidly deteriorate.

The brutal murder of the prominent republican figure, Maire Drumm, in a Belfast hospital has opened up a new range of retaliation.

Fresh streets in Britain under the Prevention of Terrorism Act indicate that another campaign on English soil is expected. Meanwhile, political initiatives appear to be at a standstill.

London seems to pin what hope it has upon the gallantry, even martyr-spirit, of the Women's Peace Movement. But if the Movement is to make peace, and not just say no to violence, it will have to take stands on the causes of conflict. That will mean taking sides, running the risk of failure and discredit.

In spite of the peace women, there are still plenty of young men and women prepared to make war — or at least enough to keep it going. A native American intervention might play into their hands. But a sophisticated exercise, operating through Dublin rather than London, might be the one road out of the Ulster dilemma.

From page 1

## \*Without Kissinger

Monday, November 8, 1978

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Carter administration, but there is as yet no reason to expect a decisive change in the American role. The general situation in the Middle East is evolving now toward a moment, perhaps six months away, when Arabs and Israelis will both be ready for a try at a decisive diplomatic settlement of their 30-year-old hostility.

The President-Elect speaks vehemently of shaking up the status quo. Although he is heavily himself, he expresses compassion for the poor, the sick, the underprivileged. He vows to be their spokesman in the halls of government.

With a heavily Democratic Congress, Mr. Carter might be expected to enjoy smooth going; but this isn't necessarily so.

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With a heavily Democratic Congress, Mr.

# Africa

## An interview with Joshua Nkomo

By Takashi Oko  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Geneva  
"We came here to Geneva because there's a war," said Joshua Nkomo, one of the Rhodesian black nationalist leaders. "Our effort is to remove the causes of the war by an acceptable solution. As long as we have not done so, the war will continue."

Mr. Nkomo is president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and perhaps the best known international of the four black leaders who have come to Geneva for talks with white Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith under British chairmanship.

The talks are aimed at setting up an interim government, with the goal being independence under majority rule within two years. Zimbabwe, the African name for Rhodesia, is the probable name of the new state.

Among the African leaders here at Geneva, Mr. Nkomo is a moderate. "It's a pity," he told this reporter in a recent interview, "that blacks are more sensible than human beings. Black and white are peacefully together in the same room. What makes creatures who have reason attach such importance to color? I don't."

### Decade in detention

Yet Mr. Nkomo was detained by Mr. Smith's white minority regime for a decade, from before that regime's unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in November, 1965, until December, 1974. Two other leaders of black delegations to Geneva, Robert Mugabe and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, were similarly detained.

(Only the fourth of such leaders, Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who is president of the African National Council's so-called external wing, has never been confined to a prison or detention camp. The ANC is split, and Mr. Nkomo is president of the so-called internal wing. Both wings have wide support within Rhodesia, whereas Mr. Mugabe's strength is with the guerrilla fighters of the Zimbabwe People's Army, which operates from bases in Mozambique. Mr. Sithole is currently the weakest of the four leaders, with little visible support either within or without the country, although, like Mr. Nkomo, he

was one of the early leaders of the African national movement.)

Mr. Nkomo's internal prestige was damaged when he negotiated unsuccessfully with Mr. Smith early this year for a peaceful transition to black majority rule. This may be why he felt it necessary to ally himself with Mr. Mugabe, the most militant of the four Africans at the conference, before they came to Geneva. The two have formed a "patriotic front."

### Britain prodded

Like the other African delegations, Mr. Nkomo complains that Britain should "take up its colonial responsibilities." But if he can get the substance of majority rule, he seems more willing to compromise on guarantees for the white minority than do the other black leaders, including his partner in the patriotic front, Mr. Mugabe.

Mr. Nkomo senses a division within the white community: There are the diehards who look on U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's mediation proposals (accepting majority rule in two years but including safeguards for the existing white regime, which the blacks reject) as a means of clinging to power indefinitely. But another group of farmers and businessmen recognizes that majority rule is inevitable and wishes the transition to be as rapid and smooth as possible.

Representatives of the second group have been to see Mr. Nkomo and his white adviser, former Rhodesian Prime Minister Garfield Todd, to pledge their support. But suspicion of Mr. Smith and his attempts to delay majority rule as long as possible are very strong, even in Mr. Nkomo's delegation. This is one reason the British chairman, Ivor Richard, is making agreement on a date for independence his first priority. He apparently hopes that once this is settled, the haggling over the interim government will be easier.

If a compromise that concedes the substance of black majority rule is worked out, would Mr. Nkomo accept it even if Mr. Mugabe, for instance, felt it did not go far enough?

"I'm not a child," Mr. Nkomo answered, looking straight at this reporter. "I've been in this struggle longer than anybody else. I do something because I think that something will benefit my people. I'm not pushed or pulled by extremes, on either side. I survive by actions, by real things."



By Sven Simon

Nkomo: designs for clothes and Rhodesia

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# America's last log drive

Text by Stewart Dill McBride  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor  
Photos by Barth J. Falkenberg  
Staff photographer of The Christian Science Monitor

Skowhegan, Maine  
For three centuries they waited. Each March, in cramped cabins along lonely miles of the frozen Kennebec, the river drivers waited, comforted only by the woolen underwear and bacon the womenfolk had packed for them. They waited patiently and eventually it came, as it did every year. Spring thaw.

Solid streams and ponds, thousands of them dotting Maine's north woods, unlocked their dungeons of rotting ice and turned loose a stampede of logs left barnessed in the snow by lumberjacks the previous winter. The fallen timbers, resurrected on the crests of white-water freshets, balked at the shoals, viciously gnawing at each other's bark, clogging and jamming river canyons like flats of firecrackers.

Since Colonial days, Maine's river drivers, a robust breed of brawling Bunyanesque men, herded and occasionally rode the bucking logs downstream, beckoned by the hungry screams of the mills' silver awaas, which turned towering pines into everything from toothpicks to masts for the British Royal Navy.

Their moustaches black as bark, thick as spruce pitch, these cowboys of the Kennebec wore chopped-off trousers and felt-brimmed hats. They shouldered steel-tipped pickpoles and "cant dogs," and danced with the dexterity of high-wire artists across the bobbing backs of their wooden cattle. And when mucka couldn't pry apart a stubborn logjam, a stick or two of dynamite did the job.

## Many couldn't swim

Many of the river drivers, then as today, couldn't swim a stroke, and stayed afloat by trusting nimble feet on currents swift enough to kick the snout of a defiant log 20 feet in the air. "Timber walking" on the Kennebec, from the April "ice-out" to the November "freeze-up," was more dangerous than romantic, and if ever a logger lost his footing and life to the frigid black waters, his spiked boots were nailed to the nearest tree as a memorial and warning to the less judicious "river cats."

Whenever they hit "dead water" or were forced to "lay back for a head wind," log drivers earned their reputation for playing as hard as they worked. They romped in river rodeos of log-rolling, horseshoe pitching, storytelling, and foot races with barrels of salt pork and molasses on their shoulders.

In the early 19th century, among the annual procession of wood down the Kennebec were the logs of scores of rival timber companies, whose 104-mile conveyor belt ran from Moosehead Lake — the blue bull's-eye

In the midst of Maine's 20 million acres of lush forest — to the Atlantic. But the floating wooden wealth was a temptation: Even "extraction" of the ends of the timber couldn't prevent massive "log rustling." Finally, in 1835, the Maine Legislature halted the chaos and the frequent fights between competing loggers: It chartered the cooperative, profit Kennebec River Log Driving Company, designed to referee annual drives.

## Outboards, TV, showers

Much of the heavy work and outdoor romance of the river drivers malts today; but over the past 140 years the rugged but silent "cats," like the lumberjacks, have slowly succumbed to mechanization. "Kickers" (outboard motors) now power their flat-bottomed boats called "bateaux." Television and hot showers have been added to the Spartan regime of the river camps (today reserved primarily "visa boys" from Quebec), where men once slept on the cold ground beneath a common blanket.

In 1835, 63 logging companies floated their wood cargo down the Kennebec. Now only the Scott Paper Company remains. The river drive is a modern tale of transition: shifting from the slower, speedier road and rail delivery of pulpwood to the fast truck. The final plug was pulled on the river drive in 1971 when the state Legislature outlawed the transporting of logs down the Kennebec after Oct. 1, 1976. It had finally yielded to pressure from environmentalists and sportsmen who protested that the logs and their oxygen-consuming cavities hindered fish spawning and pleasure boating.

Last summer's "transition drive" was only 90,000 cords, a fraction of such "great log drives" as the 250,000 cords moved in 1835 and the record 318,882 cords driven in 1860. But this year's was the final river drive ever in America.

At this moment the Kennebec River Log Driving Company is selling the last of its boats and pickpoles. The men who spent decades of their lives prodding the stubborn logs downstream are out looking for work. Some will go to the paper mills. Perhaps a few will be seen this year on Maine's Route 201, steering the giant truck trailers of logs which have forced the river drivers into extinction.

Many of these men, the last links with a tradition in America's living past, are left without a future. As youngsters they dropped out of school to follow their fathers and grandfathers down the river. Now they can neither read nor write and the once proud and fiercely independent men must go on welfare.

A final flurry of national publicity has given the loggers a moment of nostalgia to ride into, but, barring an abrupt change of heart by the paper companies, the cowboys of the Kennebec have driven the last log.



Log drive foreman Buster Violette  
— 30 years on the Kennebec

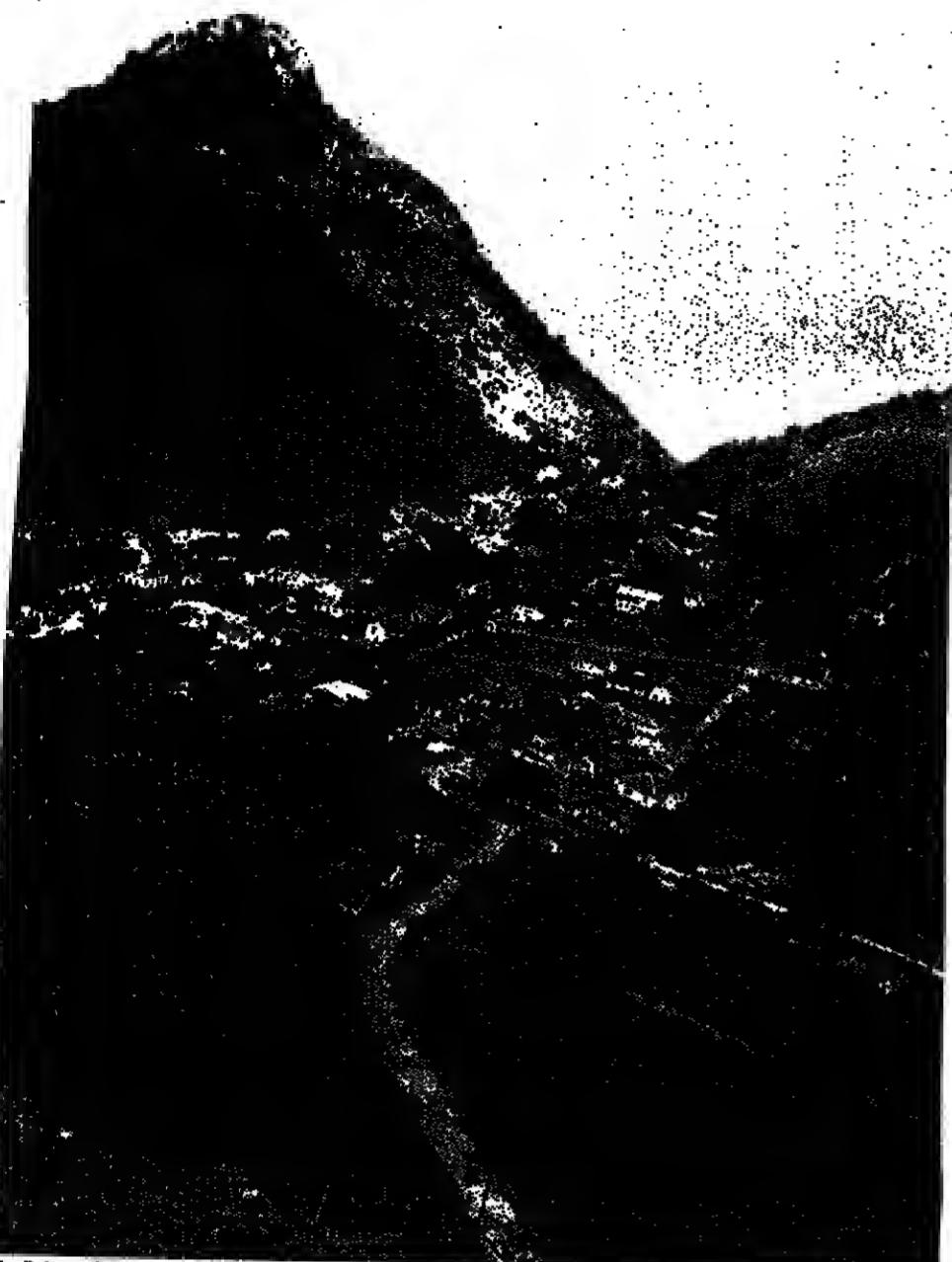


In a tradition that dates from Colonial times, Maine's river drivers (above) herded bucking logs with "pickaroons" (below left), fancy footwork, and flat-bottomed "bateaux" (below right)





## travel



The Bottom, Saba

Saba: where bicycles are an absurdity

By Peter Tonge

## The Costa Brava: where to find dinosaur eggs, camels, and Dali

By Susan Lapinski  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cadaques, Spain  
The gleaming white houses look like many others in Cadaques — until you notice the mock dinosaur eggs looming expectantly on the ornate-tiled roof. Salvador Dali lives here, visitors are reminded.

It is impossible not to feel the artist's dynamic and eccentric personality here. In the Costa Brava's liveliest and least-spoiled holiday spot. Shops along the diminutive water-colored harbor display outrageous autographed photos of Dali reclining in his pet leopard or stroking the snaky strands of his moustache. And each year the town fathers organize some kind of festival in his honor — the last one a costume ball. Day comes with a life-size candy dispenser to smash into bite-sized pieces.

Tourists are drawn here first by the fishing village's sleepy mood, crystal-clear coves, and attractive prices. (\$6 and up for a spartan double room, \$8 for passable paella.) But after visiting the jewel-like 17th century church and watching deeply tanned fishermen at work in stout little boats, they invariably take the winding stone path to Dali's house in adjacent Port Lligat.

Some get a personal welcome from the artist when he is in residence. Others must be content with a glimpse of his dinosaur eggs and terraced garden, decorated with a life-sized wooden camel and two enormous metal mannequin heads leaning possessively atop the garden wall.

As more and more visitors from just over the border in nearby France build their holiday villas along the hillsides, the drowsy mood of the village may disappear. Already the red earth vibrates with concrete mixers and landscaper trucks. But for the time being, at least, Cadaques remains a bizarre and beautiful place right out of a Dali daydream.

himself right down to its spiral staircase and sound effects. The result is a visual circus. "A bike," says Edmer Hassel who traces his family's arrival on the island back to 1870, "would be an absurdity here."

Some women, knowing when the small Wimco plane arrives from St. Martin, peddle their wares to visiting tourists at the side of the road near the airstrip.

Saba, like, of course, brings some money to the island. Salaries (many Sebans work for the Antilles Government) have more than doubled in the past decade, and Saba produces — fish, white potatoes, and bananas particularly — fetch good prices on neighboring islands. Tourism also boosts the economy.

Though the bulk of visitors come only for the day by plane or ship, there is limited accommodation in hotels and guesthouses. Cottages may also be rented by the week or month. The principal hotel, and the only one on the island with private baths, is The Captain's Quarters. The rooms are large and airy, and some even have four-poster beds. Like the island itself, the place has a charm all its own.

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## In the Caribbean

## Tiny Saba — a steep island mountain

By Peter Tonge  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science  
Monitor

**S. Martin, Netherlands Antilles**  
There is a jade green mountain, just a 15-minute plane hop from here, that rises straight up out of the sea for almost 3,000 feet. It is called Seba, and it is one of the more unusual and delightful of all the islands that dot the deep blue Caribbean.

There is a sort of once-upon-a-time atmosphere, a fairytale charm about the place. Lush vegetation covers the one-time volcano from the rain forest of the summit all the way down to within a few hundred feet of the rocky shore. Pink grapefruit, mangoes, avocados, limes, oranges, bananas, papayas, and the grape-flecked kumquat are the sweet fruits of the island. The giant breadfruit also yields abundantly.

Doll-sized houses with white walls and red roofs cling to the mountainside, clustered together in picturesque villages known as Hell's Gate, the Windwardside, St. John's, and the Bottom — which, despite its name, is one-third of the way up the mountain. The altitude moderates the usual hot breath of the Caribbean as that air conditioning is unnecessary.

However you arrive — by boat at Fort Bay or on the postage stamp of an air strip on the other side of the island — the only way to any kind of civilization is straight up. Before motorized vehicles arrived in 1947 there were no roads on the island, only steps. Shank's mare was the only way to go, and the Sabaan had as wiry a set of legs as a Himalayan Sherpa. He also had lots of patience, for no one climbs 1,000 feet in a hurry.

Finally auto became small enough and powerful enough (the Jeep was the first to arrive) to negotiate the sharp curves and steep inclines. Then the miles of winding steps were paved over and turned into narrow walled roads, no wider than an English country lane and just as pretty. It's low gear all the way, whether climbing up or checking the motor on dizzying descents.

Mrs. Peterson, a grandmother now, has worked at the craft all her adult life, and over the years has built up a clientele in various lands, principally in the U.S. When I was there she was completing some table place-mats for a woman who lives in Hawkeye, Iowa.

As we discussed the island, its people, and the special craft of drawthread work I was able to look out at the million-dollar view which all residents of this lofty island are blessed with. I left with an attractively worked bum warmer cloth in my hands, priced at \$7. "I use only Irish linen or linen from Belgium," says Mrs. Peterson, "but it is becoming expensive now." Monogrammed hand towels were going for \$3.50 and a 9 by 6 foot ornate table cloth for \$125.

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scended from slaves emancipated in 1883. In this respect Saba was a Caribbean exception; slaves never outnumbered the settlers as they did by wide margins on all other islands.

They get along well together. "We all must," says Mr. Hassell "on one island this small." At the base it is five square miles but the steep topography provides a much larger area on which to walk — or rather climb.

Until modern technology took its toll, cottage industries ebbed on the island, riding in its former prosperity. It was, in fact, the shoemaking center of the Caribbean in the 17th and early 18th centuries, and Saba's slaves kept the sun off many a head in faraway places. Now the cottage industries have disappeared — except for one.

A sign on a street corner led me to the home of Lester and Helen Peterson in the village of Windwardside. "Drawthread, handwork," it said, and an arrow pointed the direction.

In the latter half of the last century drawthread work, also known as Spanish or Saba lace, was practiced extensively and the island became well-known for the skillfully worked linen. This delicate form of stitching never died out completely, and today, with a growing appreciation for hand-crafted goods, coupled with an increase of tourists, the craft is resurging somewhat.

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## people

Photos by Steven Dr. McBride, Barbara Pond, Alan Bend, and S. S. S.

## U.S.S.R. not a melting pot

The Soviet Union is made up of many nationalities. But the American melting-pot theory does not apply to the Soviet situation. The ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union cling stubbornly to their traditions. And nationalism is the one issue that could focus the discontent of a populace that is otherwise politically apathetic.

By Elizabeth Pond  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

So far, however, the crisis that Western observers have long anticipated has not materialized. There has been no outburst of anti-Russian riots since Army troops rushed to quell demonstrations in Kauhna, Lithuania, in 1972.

## Czarist empire prolonged

There are several reasons for Moscow's success to date in prolonging the old czarist empire. They include:

• Positive incentives, such as economic integration and development throughout the entire Soviet Union; access to the modern technological world through Russian tea; opportunities for Russified native leaders to join the governing elite and to share in the elite prerogatives; and, for Central Asians, freedom from exhausting local warfare, as well as dramatically improved education, health care, and standard of living under Soviet rule.

• Such neutral factors as tolerance of local culture within certain bounds.

• Negative penalties through authoritarian rule, the weighing of real power to all (Russia, Siberia, Byelorussia, and Ukraine) against secretaries in the all-important Communist Parties in the republics; firm Russian control of police and especially secret police forces in all the republics; suppression of the rare nationalist uprisings; Slav emigration to minority regions, and especially to their capital cities; dispersal of Army recruits so that national units are not formed and serve in their own republics. The consequence is comparable to the Armenian diaspora in 1915.

• "We are a little colony of Russia — in 1976," spouts out one Georgian to a visitor in Tbilisi. "What wouldn't we be today if we weren't a colony of Russia?"

To Georgians, Bessarabians, and Central Asian republics, Russia ordering about the smaller Soviet minorities is an insult to national identity. And the Soviet Union is an anomaly, the last empire in a post-colonial world.

To the Russians, however, who constitute 53.4 percent of the Soviet population and who dominate the country's political, economic, and cultural life, it is only natural that they are the "elder brothers" among the country's 104 recognized nationalities.

Where truth lies for the Soviet Union's 113 million non-Russians will determine the future tranquility of turbulence of Soviet life far more than any other domestic issue. The narrow class concern of intellectuals about freedom, chronic and therefore accustomed meat shortages, and an inefficient economy are all minor irritants in comparison with the potential dynamics of the nationalities question.

Soviet policy on nationalities has followed many zigzags. The Reds first promoted autonomy for the various nationalities when they outdid the Whites for non-Russian loyalty; the Red Russian empire dissolved in civil war.

As the Bolsheviks (under the most ruthless of all, Joseph Stalin) took power, however, they re-organized their power. They consolidated their power, they re-organized their power. They and the Red

Army to suppress attempts at autonomy in Georgia and elsewhere; they forcibly assimilated Central Asian nomads; they liquidated their own national communist leaderships.

Legally, the 15 Soviet republics are equal, and each has the right to secede. In practice, however, any local leaders suspected of "bourgeois nationalism" or even economic nationalism are swiftly dispensed with. And ordinary citizens who raise this issue — like the 14 Armenians sentenced in 1974 for proposing a referendum on accession — can expect jail terms.

Such control by Moscow is justified, ideologically by the argument that a centralized, nationwide proletarian party and the planned centralized economy must always take top priority.

Such control by Moscow is justified, ideologically by the argument that a centralized, nationwide proletarian party and the planned centralized economy must always take top priority.

Under Khrushchev and Brezhnev, the goal has been "rapprochement," a "growing together" of the various nationalities leading to an undifferentiated, unified Soviet people.

The consequence is comparable to the Armenian diaspora in 1915.

A 'nonmelting' pot

But here the pot's contents refuse to melt. This leads to chronic disguised arguments about "Russification" in education, versions of history, and urban populations in the national republics.

Estonians complain Slav labor is brought in for new factories and that incoming Russian engineers get apartments in the city, while Latvians have to wait five years.

Estonian clerks refuse to sell theirнические wares to Russian customers. Lithuanians cling to their Roman Catholic heritage both as a religion and as a national fortress against encroaching atheistic Slavs.

In all of the national republics the younger generation which has grown up amid Soviet preaching about the withering away of nations, and the dissolution of the nationalities question.

In an otherwise politically apathetic population, nationalism is the one issue that could catch the imagination of large masses and focus discontent against Moscow's leadership.

Elizabeth Pond, formerly the Monitor's Moscow-based correspondent, returned recently to the United States after spending two years in the Soviet Union.

Third in a series



## arts

Interview with Italian actor Giancarlo Giannini

## 'I can influence people more than any political leader'

By David Sterritt

New York  
It looks like the biggest rising star of the year is a 33-year-old Italian with scrawny cheeks, droopy eyes, and the pluckiest performing style to emerge from the Mediterranean since early Marcello Mastroianni.

His name is Giancarlo Giannini, and so far his work is inextricably linked with that of Lina Wertmüller, who has directed his biggest international successes: "Love and Anarchy," "The Seduction of Mimi," "Swept Away by an Unseen Destiny on the Blue Sea of August," and the latest, an irreverent but celebrated political farce called "Seven Beauties."

## Love of acting

Giannini and Wertmüller share many of the ideas, philosophies, and approaches that crop up in all these films. Both have a flair for self-copilot clowning, sometimes expressed through deliberately offensive images that are intended as serious metaphors for decadent modern trends. And both have an urgent wish to be seen and appreciated by "the people" at

large, not just a coterie of like-minded artists or intellectuals.

A great love of acting creeps through nearly everything Giannini says and does. "I want to make a premise," he says easily in our interview. "Whenever I speak of what I do as an actor, I am very serious about it. But I have a lot of fun doing it. It is like the ultimate game. Like when a child plays with two forks, they could be two trains for him . . . ."

Giannini says "a film cannot be perfect in every facet [but] a film has to be a complete and general idea. The final message is very important."

"So after the characters I portray, I use everything imaginable to portray an idea. I use every trait at my disposal. I don't care a fig for the public. . . . I know that I am doing fictional things, and the public in general feels the same way. I want to be as loyal and simple as possible in my portrayals. . . . I know I will never achieve this fully, but that's life. . . ."

Not surprisingly for such an idea-oriented man, Giannini is interested in the possibility of

influencing the ideas of other people through his work.

"On the screen I can influence people more than any political leader or personality I can think of. I'll use every fictional thing, every fake type of feeling and expression in order to continue with my dialogue vis-à-vis the public."

## Improbable career

Giannini's acting career began as improbable as a scene in one of his movies. By training and vocation, he was first an electrical engineer. "I was waiting for some government documents so I could go to work in Brazil," he tells the tale. "It was a long wait, so I registered to quit, and gave up acting for most of a year."

While thus passing the time at Rome's Academy for Drama, "I realized immediately how wonderful and important it was to be an actor. It isn't the greatest thing, but it is meaningful because it changes the 'muscle' underneath the man who is acting. . . . Things are born and done that are so different, in playing various characters. Take the case of a person who is



A still from 'Seven Beauties'

Acting to Giannini is the 'ultimate game'

## Bucking the 'official style' of Soviet art

By Elizabeth Pond

Moscow  
As a young artist in a society that sanctions only one rigid style, Yuri Zharkikh has had to search out his own vision of art.

He continues his exploration, of course, but he has already begun to define himself sufficiently to keep his inspiration flowing — and to sell his works to foreigners here as an established nonconformist artist. He is regarded by at least one Western artist here as among the more talented in the rather uneven group of nonorthodox Soviet painters.

Difficulties in discovering one's own style are compounded by the lack of freedom to do what one wants in the Soviet Union. But here again come the contradictions. There is more financial security in the Soviet Union than in the West — for the conformist artist. But there are periodic shortages of materials; there is a dearth of visual stimuli; and then, of discrimination in appreciating masterpieces of modern art and vigorous aesthetic criticism; and there is a bizarre use of police power to repress disapproved artistic styles.

The young Soviet artist thus faces a triple danger of diversion into mere political illustration, a constant negative battle against authority or harassment ranging from eviction from an apartment to confinement in a prison or a mental hospital.

So far Zharkikh appears to have avoided all of the extremes, though he has been an activist in organizing unorthodox art shows in Leningrad and Moscow, and has signed an occasional petition for intellectual freedom. In

the Soviet Union such a quest is complicated by the inaccessibility of books on foreign contemporary art. These books are here, on the shelves of libraries and institutes — but they are banned from the general reader or artist who does not have special clearance. Only works in the very literal and idealistic style of "socialist realism" are approved for broad public consumption.

There are two alternative routes of access to modern art, but these require some maneuvering by an unknown young artist. The first — if one can acquire an exit visa — is to visit Warsaw or East Berlin to buy some of the ex-

portation of foreign art. The second alternative is to wangle an invitation to look at the forbidden art in Soviet museum cellars or in the extraordinary private collection of George Costakis. A long-time Greek resident of Moscow, Costakis has single-handedly searched out and saved hundreds of works from that brilliant, brief period of Russian modernism just before and after the 1917 revolution. Though these works are disowned by Soviet cultural authorities, they hold a patina of authentication for today's young Russian painters.

A number of the students felt that this dichotomy between the institute's two sections forced them to tell artistic lies, to draw in a way they didn't like in order to pass the courses. For artists — whom Zharkikh characterized as extreme individualists by definition — this inability to express their own "intrinsic" causes suffering and even crises.

At first, many students reacted this way, Zharkikh says. But then more and more "adapted" to the school's demands — and came to dislike those fellow students who didn't do the same. By graduation in 1977, only half a dozen students were left. Ironically, this half dozen enjoyed the sympathies and moral support of the faculty.

After graduation Zharkikh went to work designing ceramics and fabrics to decorate public buildings — and faced the personal problem of broadening his own aesthetic exposure. In

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Zharkikh's own style has evolved, as he describes it, from abstract abstractionism to pure abstractionism to mysticism, to lyricism — the ancient Indian and Egyptian philosophy. Birth and death are recurring themes and the Russian icon is a strong influence on his composition. His work currently tells the story of the rubles each and every time. His paintings are now abroad.

The day I say I'm a misunderstood genius is when I will have to change my line of work. I would prefer to be an imbecile who is under-

## Joyce Grenfell's autobiography

JOYCE GRENFELL REQUESTS THE PLEASURE, by Joyce Grenfell. London: Macmillan London Limited. £4.95.

By John Beaufort

"Joyce Grenfell Requests the Pleasure" is an open invitation to a book of grace and flavor. The smiling face on the dust jacket expresses the fresh good humor of the person who animates the pages within. In this memoir, as in her stage performances, the writer-entertainer opens a wide door, bids us a warm welcome, and shares her capacity to enjoy the human comedy.

The pleasure is not without pain. Her parents' separation when she was in her teens was a "wilderness" ordeal. Entertaining the wounded in World War II hospital wards in north Africa, southern Europe, and India presented challenges as well as rewards. But the darker experiences are placed in perspective by an individual whose expectancy of good springs from something more than sunny optimism and whose faith has grown through being tried.

The early chapters of "Joyce Grenfell Requests the Measure" are expansively familiar. By the time she married businessman Hugh Grenfell at 19, the assorted relatives included Phillips, Grenfells, Langhorns, and Astors, to mention the closer kin. Two of the most forbidding characters in this family gal-

lery were Grandmother Phipps, a dragon who lived alone attended by 11 servants, and Aunt Nancy (Lady Astor), whose ferocious domination and lacerating wit did not preclude an extraordinary generosity.

Stars, principals, and indispensable supporting players make their way through these early chapters as the young Joyce moves from childhood to adolescence and womanhood. Schooling included a brief term at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts. She made her professional debut, not on the stage but as radio critic for the Observer. Although she had been stagestruck since the age of seven, the Grenfell theatrical career began as such things often do, in an unforeseen way. Her impromptu take-off of a Women's Institute lecture on "Useful and Acceptable Gifts" at a 1939 party attended by producer Herbert Farjeon led to her appearance in Farjeon's "Little Revue" and changed her life.

Miss Grenfell's succession of self-portraits are candid and often critical. "I was narrow-minded, prejudiced, self-centered, and self-righteous," she confesses at one point in a burst of mea culpas. At another point, she admits that "we Phipps women are bossy." Yet this sharp observation of herself and others is balanced by a generous ability to appreciate. Friendships endure time and separations. Among others, she pays tributes to Richard Addinsell (longtime composer-colaborator),

Walter de la Mare, Max Adrian, Myra Hess, Ruth Draper (a genius but not an encourager), Laurier Lister, Victor Stiebel, and in a particularly eloquent passage her beloved "Reggie."

The deft precision of her prose enhances the pleasure of Miss Grenfell's company: "He held her in esteem, a chilling place, but better than nowhere. . . . Observelton was my strong point and that is the reason I learned little at school. . . . The sex war was a gentle thing when I was in my teens. . . . You could park at least four double-decker buses in the [Cliveden] hall [whose fireplace took] logs the size of a stout twelve-year-old boy. . . . Some people get a lift from strong drink; I get it from singing. . . . The standard was so low it was funny — but not funny enough. . . . He was a pear-shaped man. . . . with ears that looked as if they had been taken off, ironed out, and put back on like tea-pot handles. . . . His bit into [an egg-and-tomato sandwich] as if it tasted of nothing. . . ."

To sum up the prose and pictorial pleasures enjoyed as a result of accepting Miss Grenfell's invitation, I quote a fan postcard she received after doing her first big BBC broadcast. It said, "Dear Madam, thank you very much. I'll second that!"

John Beaufort is a free-lance critic and feature writer.

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In the meantime, Grenfell will be more in film work that combines the art and commerce which are so indigenous to cinema. "I try to combine the two things, and to do popular things as much as possible. But I don't use the word 'popular,' pejoratively, because the thing I really want to do is the commercial picture."

When there are two or three people watching a movie and they say it's great, it scares me. It destroys me. I would feel much better if they would say bad things about the picture, but there would be a big audience. An actor needs an audience. He doesn't exist without an audience. He doesn't exist without a public. Audience — unless he is such a nut that he feels good just portraying characters before a mirror.

The second alternative is to wangle an invitation to look at the forbidden art in Soviet museum cellars or in the extraordinary private collection of George Costakis. A long-time Greek resident of Moscow, Costakis has single-handedly searched out and saved hundreds of works from that brilliant, brief period of Russian modernism just before and after the 1917 revolution. Though these works are disowned by Soviet cultural authorities, they hold a patina of authentication for today's young Russian painters.

Zharkikh's own style has evolved, as he describes it, from abstract abstractionism to pure abstractionism to mysticism, to lyricism — the ancient Indian and Egyptian philosophy. Birth and death are recurring themes and the Russian icon is a strong influence on his composition. His work currently tells the story of the rubles each and every time. His paintings are now abroad.

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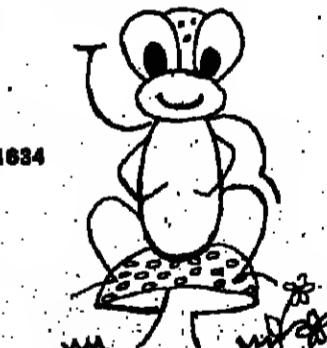
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# French/German

## L'U.R.S.S. n'est pas un creuset

[Extraits d'un article paru dans le journal en page 21]

par Elizabeth Pond  
Écrit spécialement  
pour The Christian Science Monitor

Moscou  
• Nous sommes une petite colonie de la Russie — en 1976, glapit un Géorgien à un visiteur à Tbilissi. « Que ne serions-nous pas aujourd'hui si nous n'étions pas une colonie de la Russie ? »

Pour les critiques géorgiens, baltes et de l'Asie centrale, la fait que les Russes régentent les petites minorités soviétiques est une insulte à l'identité nationale. Et l'Union soviétique est une anomie; le dernier empire dans un monde post-colonial.

Pour les Russes, toutefois, qui forment 83,4% de la population soviétique qui dominent en vie politique, économique et culturelle, il n'est que naturel qu'ils soient les « grands frères » dans un pays comprenant 104 nationalités reconnues.

Ce qui arrivera aux 113 millions de non russes de l'Union soviétique déterminera la tranquillité ou la turbulence futures de la vie soviétique bien plus que toute autre question intérieure. La préoccupation de classe étriquée des intellectuels au sujet de la liberté, la pénurie de viande chronique et par conséquent hebdomadaire, et une économie inefficace sont autant de raisons d'irritation mineures comparativement à la dynamite en puissance qu'est la question des nationalités.

Dans une population politiquement spartiate sous d'autres rapports, le nationalisme est l'unique question qui pourrait saisir l'imagination de masses importantes et faire converger le mécontentement contre le dirigisme de Moscou.

Néanmoins, jusqu'à présent, la crise que les observateurs occidentaux ont anticipée depuis longtemps n'a pas pris

corps. Il n'y a pas eu d'éclat d'émeutes anti-russes depuis que les troupes soviétiques se sont précipitées pour réprimer les manifestations de Kaunas en Lituanie en 1972.

Il y a plusieurs raisons pour lesquelles Moscou n'a pas réussi jusqu'à présent à prolonger le vieux empire des tsars. Elles comprennent :

- Des stimulants positifs, tels que l'intégration et le développement économiques d'un bout à l'autre de toute l'Union soviétique, l'accès au monde technologique moderne grâce aux attaches russes, des occasions pour les chefs indigènes russifiés de se joindre à l'élite gouvernementale et de porter les bénéfices de l'élite et, pour les habitants de l'Asie centrale, l'affranchissement des guerres locales épulantes, ainsi qu'une amélioration spectaculaire de l'instruction, de la santé, de l'hygiène et de la qualité de la vie sous le gouvernement des Soviats.

- Des facteurs nautiques tels que la tolérance envers la culture locale dans une certaine limite.

- Des sanctions négatives résultant d'un gouvernement autoritaire, l'stration du pouvoir réel à des secrétaires en second Slaves (Russes, Biélorusses, Ukrainiens) dans les parties communistes de toute première importance dans les républiques; la ferme contrôle russe de la police et en particulier de la police secrète dans toutes les républiques; la répression des rares soulèvements nationalistes; l'émigration slave dans les régions où se trouvent des minorités et surtout dans leurs capitales; la dispersion des recrues afin que des unités militaires nationales ne puissent se former et servir leur propre république; les purges mortelles des leaders communistes locaux des années 30, deux moins mortelles en Ukraine des années 50 et en Ukraine des années 70.

- La politique soviétique au sujet des nationalités a fait bien des zigzags. Les Rouges ont promis d'abord l'autonomie. Les Latvians se plaignent parce que

six diverses nationalités quand ils finissent de l'oppression eux Blancs pour obtenir des loyautés non russes, quand le vieux empire russe s'écroule dans la guerre civile.

Toutefois, à mesure que les Bolcheviks (sous le centralisateur le plus impitoyable de tous, le Géorgien Joseph Staline) consolident leur pouvoir, ils renforcent leurs promesses. Ils envoyent l'Armée Rouge en Géorgie et ailleurs pour supprimer les tentatives d'autonomie, ils forcent les nomades de l'Asie centrale à devenir sédentaires, ils liquident leurs propres chefs communautaires nationaux.

Légalement, les 15 républiques soviétiques sont égales et chacune a le droit de faire sécession. Dans la pratique, toutefois, n'importe quel des leaders locaux suspecte de « nationalisme bourgeois » ou même de favoriser l'économie locale est rapidement mis au rebut. Et les citoyens ordinaires qui soulèvent cette question — comme les quatorze Arméniens condamnés en 1974 pour avoir proposé un référendum sur la sécession — peuvent s'attendre à être condamnés à des peines d'emprisonnement.

Un tel contrôle de Moscou est justifié idéologiquement par l'argument qu'un parti prolétarien national centralisé et une économie planifiée doivent toujours être au tout premier plan.

Sous Khroutchov et Brejnev le but a été la « rapprochement », une « érosion côte à côte » des diverses nationalités aboutissant à un peuple soviétique « unifié » sans différences. Ce concept est comparable à la théorie du creuset américain.

Mais ici le contenu du creuset refuse de fondre. Cela conduit à des discussions chroniques, déguisées au sujet de la « russification ». Dès l'instruction, des versions de l'histoire, et des populations urbaines dans les républiques nationales.

Les Ukrainiens jouent pour la mèche la plus grosse, s'angageant dans des manœuvres de faction pour obtenir le pouvoir suprême à Moscou.

Le moins d'œuvre slove est importé pour les nouvelles usines et que les ingénieurs russes qui arrivent obtiennent des appartements en un an, alors que les Letviens doivent attendre cinq ans.

Les vendeurs estoniens refusent de vendre leurs meilleurs produits aux clients russes. Les Lituaniens s'accrochent à leur héritage catholique romain aussi bien en tant que religion que comme une force régionale contre l'empietement de l'athéisme des slaves.

Dans toutes les républiques nationales la jeune génération, qui a grandi au milieu de la prédication soviétique au sujet du flétrissement du nationalisme, se jette encore dans les études universitaires de langues, littératures et histoires indigènes. La concurrence atteint jusqu'à 45 candidats pour chacune des places disponibles pour ce genre d'études.

De plus, de violentes querelles éclatent, surtout en Géorgie en ce moment même, à propos des pressions de Moscou pour augmenter l'assistance dans les écoles élémentaires de langue russe plutôt que dans celles de langue géorgienne et pour rendre les dissertations en langue russe obligatoires ou même universitaires.

Les républiques minoritaires s'accommodent de façon diverse à ces tensions: les Géorgiens conservent leur propre mini-culte de Staline, ils boycottent les écoles élémentaires de langue russe et font des gorges chaudes de sous-entendus politiques à double sens.

Les Estoniens limitent tranquillement leurs nouvelles usines (et ainsi toute affluence de travailleurs slaves), leur économie est bien plus efficiente que celle des Russes, avec autant d'indépendance que possible et par conséquent ils jouissent du niveau de vie le plus élevé de l'Union soviétique.

Les Ukrainiens jouent pour la mèche la plus grosse, s'angageant dans des manœuvres de faction pour obtenir le pouvoir suprême à Moscou.

# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paru dans le journal en page 21

Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine

## N'ayez pas de crainte

de ce qui semble la substance du mal qui pourra être, se trouve une réalité qui ne connaît rien d'antagoniste à notre bien-être et à notre bonheur. Ces porcules de Dieu sont Tout, il n'y a pas de place pour Su disseminante. Seul, Dieu, l'Esprit, crée tout, et dit que cela était bon. Donc le mal, étant contraire au bien, est irréel, et ne peut être le produit de Dieu.

C'est là la vérité fondamentale, de même que la Science Chrétienne réitère les enseignements de Jésus. Il y a une autre déclaration de Mrs. Eddy qui peut avoir une signification très spécifique pour nous quand nous sommes entourés par la crainte — il y a de nombreuses déclarations de ce genre, ainsi que tout lecteur n'apercevra, mais celle-ci peut signifier quelque chose de spécial par rapport aux paroles de Jésus citées ci-dessous. Elle dit : « Qu'importe si la croyance est la tuberculose ! Dieu importe plus à l'immunité de ce que nous pouvons trouver au dedans de nous-mêmes. Et qu'y a-t-il qui puisse bien contrearrêter Son soutien ou nous en priver ? »

La crainte qui fait du mal n'est pas une prudence avisée, mais un pressentiment agité de malaise, le sentiment chronique d'anxiété et de préoccupation — il n'est pas nécessaire de le décrire plus amplement. La Science Chrétienne offre une réponse à une telle croire, la réponse de la paix et de la domination fournie si abondamment par les enseignements de la Bible. La base de cette réponse est la foi : Dieu importe plus à l'immunité de ce que nous pouvons trouver au dedans de nous-mêmes. Dieu importe plus que toutes nos orantes, on

dépôt de ce que celles-ci peuvent être. Pour ne plus craindre le mal, nous devons finalement nous rendre compte que dans l'univers de Dieu, qui est bon — et il n'existe qu'un univers — le mal est irréel, inconnu. Donc même au milieu de la crainte dans notre existence humaine — de la croyance en ce qui n'est pas de Dieu — nous pouvons avoir confiance en la véritable substance, la substance du bien. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'avoir peur même de nos craintes, parce que le bonheur et l'amour de Dieu envers nous sont tout ce qui existe réellement.

Nous pouvons ressentir le paix ici et maintenant ainsi qu'un véritable épandement du bien venant du Père pour enrober cette paix.

Luc 12:32; « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures, p. 339; « Science et Santé, p. 423.

\*Christian Science prononce l'allemand « science »

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec la table anglaise en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne ou chez le commandant à Boston, C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, USA 02115

Pour toute renseignement sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrivez à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, USA 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels

Eine deutsche Übersetzung siehe wochentlich

## Fürchte dich nicht!

### L'Amour divin apporte la guérison

Sich vor diesem oder jenem zu fürchten scheint im menschlichen Leben ganz normal zu sein. Mitunter — aber nur wenn wir das Wohl nicht in seiner ganzen Bedeutung benutzen — glauben wir, ein gewisses Böse an Furcht sei notwendig, um am Leben zu bleiben. Wir machen z. B. ein Kind mit den Gefahren vertraut, denen man sich beim Überqueren einer verkehrsreichen Straße aussetzt, oder welsen wir, um die Angst zu lindern, die wir in unserem Leben als eine bloße Annahme. Aber beharrlich betont sie immer wieder, daß wir uns mit dem Guten in den Bösen in unserem Leben nicht anfreunden können. Und was kann schon Seiner Fürsorge widersprechen oder steuern voranthalten? Nichts!

Aber dieses „Nichts“ kann so überzeugend aussiehen. Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, bezeichnet das Böse in unserem Leben als eine bloße Annahme. Aber beharrlich betont sie immer wieder, daß wir uns mit dem Guten in den Bösen in unserem Leben nicht anfreunden können. Und was kann schon Seiner Fürsorge widersprechen oder steuern voranthalten? Nichts!

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Die Furcht, die einem schadet, ist nicht die engmessige Vorsicht, sondern die beunruhigte Vorhersage des Bösen; das chronische Gefühl von Angst und Sorge — wir brauchen es nicht eingehend zu beschreiben.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft verhelft uns Freiheit von derartiger Furcht, sie verhüttet uns Frieden und Herrschaft, die uns durch die in der Bibel enthaltenen Lehren in so reicher Fülle zugeteilt werden. Diese Lösung beruht auf der Tatsache, daß Gott Alles und gut ist, und daß der zu Seinem Ebenbild erschaffene Mensch nicht schaden kann.

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# The Home Forum.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Holding time in the hollow of his hand

"Sometimes, when I wish to express myself, in a drawing for example, the urge to release the tension is so strong that my hands tremble and I cannot make a steady line. This happens even in writing. Only when I am in the utmost despair, stone and beyond caring, can I take up the charcoal, pencil or crayon and draw calmly."

"The results of these drawings still reflect a terrible struggle, but the delineation, and sometimes even the forms, reflect serenely and ease. On the other hand, when I force the drawing, it looks wild and savage and uncontrollable. In this case I cannot achieve the exact result."

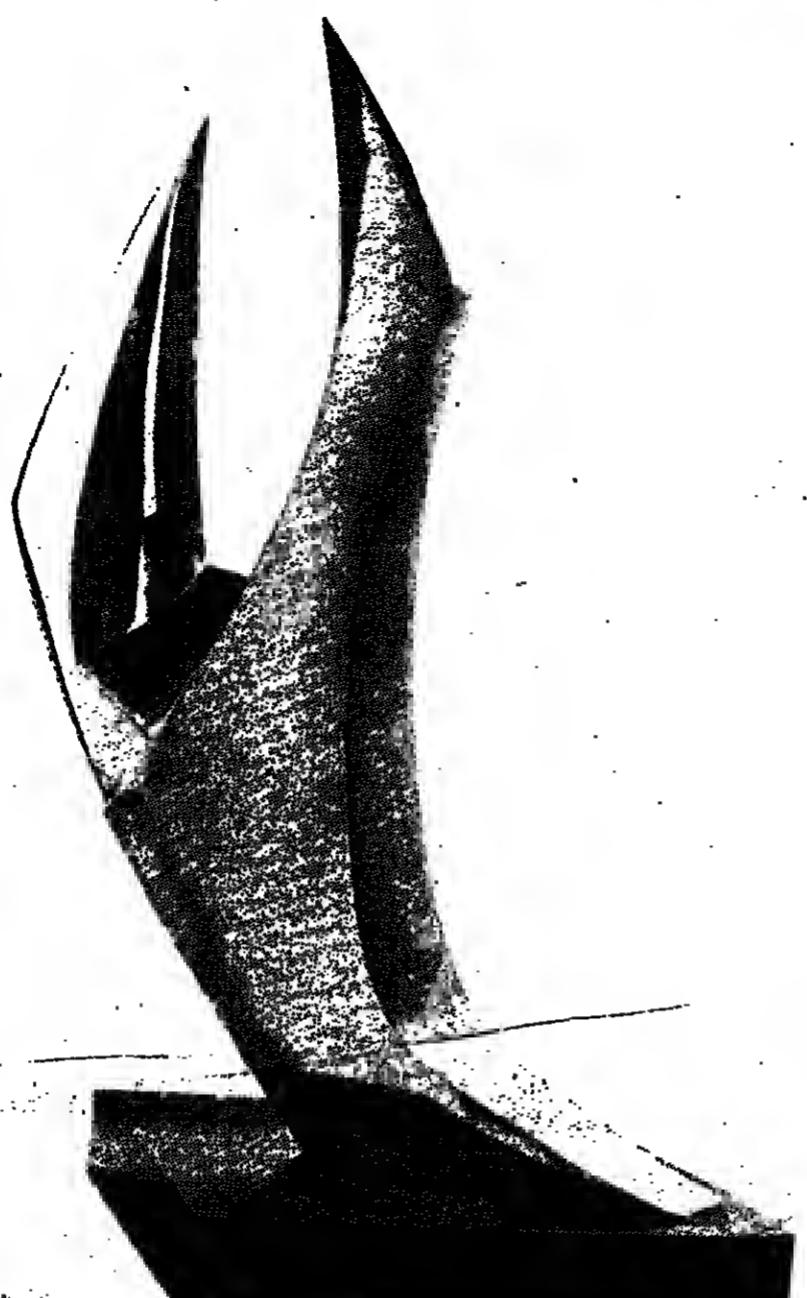
"With sculpture one does not work frenziedly, as some romantic writers would have us believe of artists in the past, hacking away until one collapses from exhaustion. Sculpture is essentially a methodical, slow process, demanding the utmost thought, care, and deliberate control. One gets there in the end. Inside is the turmoil, perhaps also in the end product but between the two, and this is essential, the bands must be steadied by the will."

These are the words of the contemporary British sculptor, John Milne. Mr. Milne studied under Barbara Hepworth and until her recent death lived and worked next door to her in St. Ives, Cornwall. His sculpture reflects her influence and that of Henry Moore, both of whom adopted the legacy of Brancusi and Arp.

Milne's sculpture, in an age where the emphasis in art increasingly seems to fall on innovation for innovation's sake, represents instead a deepening rather than a diversification of style. The master-pupil relationship derives from the Renaissance and attests to the survival throughout the tapestry of art history of obvious and sometimes barely perceptible threads.

All artists are of course influenced by the art that has gone before even if the reaction is rebellious rather than affirmative. In this sense every contemporary art work is a mirror.

Diana Loescher



'Credo': Polished bronze by John Milne, 1974

## I am master of my machines . . . I think

There are times when I find myself thinking with envy of the inhabitants of Erewhon, that country imagined by Samuel Butler; for the Erewhonians had banished machines from their land. Their reason for so doing was not perhaps altogether sound, for they believed the machines would evolve and become the masters of their makers; but all the same it seems to me that in contriving a reasonable existence without machines, the Erewhonians achieved something of a triumph. The fact is that at the moment I am engaged in suppressing a revolt of my machines. I have been compelled to do this because the machines have become too independent, too self-sufficient, too domineering. They have asserted their right to be free, and I have been compelled to assert mine.

Looking out of the window this morning, and reflecting rather gloomily on the situation, I was struck by the fact that the Erewhonians triumph of throwing off the tyranny of the machines had been emulated by the birds. They seem the only creatures in the world that have not been corrupted by the use of machines. For though no doubt the insects, and such animals as mice and moles, have evaded the machines, it is only at the cost of a more limited existence; even the bees only escape, in a majority of cases, by being forced, though they may not know it, into a machine themselves, owned by some human.

I am afraid it may be a losing battle. For my authority over them is of the most tenuous kind. If Bacon was right in declaring knowledge is power, I am but a figurehead. Or worse than that, for with my ignorant poking and prodding, to which they remain sub-

jectively unresponsive, I begin to feel no better than a gadfly among the gadgets. I shall probably have to call in the experts; and this will be a blow to the high opinion that Antaeus cannot imagine by what process of reasoning entertain of me as what she calls a "gadfly."

Looking out of the window this morning, and reflecting rather gloomily on the situation, I was struck by the fact that the Erewhonians triumph of throwing off the tyranny of the machines had been emulated by the birds. They seem the only creatures in the world that have not been corrupted by the use of machines. For though no doubt the insects, and such animals as mice and moles, have evaded the machines, it is only at the cost of a more limited existence; even the bees only escape, in a majority of cases, by being forced, though they may not know it, into a machine themselves, owned by some human.

No. One must admit that the birds have scored an impressive victory; for ality is an area particularly subject to the domination of machines, where even a man's legs are supplanted by machines for much of the time. Indeed, I cannot help feeling it is ironical

that the birds have asserted their right to be free, and I have been compelled to assert mine.

Eric Forbes-Boyd

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Monday, November 8, 1976

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Monday, November 8, 1976

The Monitor's religious article

## Don't be afraid

To be afraid of this or that seems normal to human experience. Sometimes — but only when we use the word too loosely — we believe that a certain amount of fear is necessary to survival, as when we teach a child the dangers of walking across a busy street, or warn someone experimenting with drugs that the future can be grim for him. But in the best sense, in such cases we are not trying to instill fear, but to bring an awareness of the need for prudence. There is no harm in such awareness.

The fear that haunts us is not proper caution but the agitated foreboding of evil, the chronic feeling of anxiety and concern — there is no need to more fully describe it. Christian Science offers the answer to such fear, the answer of peace and dominion so abundantly provided by the teachings of the Bible. The basis of this answer is the allness and goodness of God, and the perfection of man in His likeness.

We do not need mere words of comfort, but an assurance that runs deep and broad — an assurance that beyond our fear, beyond what seems the substance of the evil that could be, is a reality untouched by anything antagonistic to our well-being and happiness. There was more than comfort, more than an easy and nice statement, in Christ Jesus' words, "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

There is not much value in saying to someone, "Don't be afraid." Fear isn't often turned off that easily. But Jesus was saying much more than that. He was referring to the spiritual condition of his hearer, to your spiritual condition and mine, beyond all the evidence that supports our fears. He was telling us what Christian Science repeats with marvelous clarity, namely, that the supreme presence, God, the Father of all, supports our well-being — the kingdom of heaven that we can find within ourselves. And what is there that can possibly contradict His support or deprive us of it? Nothing!

But that "nothing" can seem so persuasive. Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, labels the evil of experience mere belief. But she never ceases from her insistence that the belief in evil must be handled, corrected, overwhelmed with the understanding of God's allness and goodness. She says, for instance: "Since God is All, there is no room for His unlikeness. God, Spirit, alone created all, and called it good. Therefore evil, being contrary to good, is unreal, and cannot be the product of God."

This is the foundational truth as Christian Science restates the teachings of Jesus. There is another statement by Mrs. Eddy that can have a very specific meaning for us when we seem encumbered by fear — there are many such statements, as any reader will discover, but this one can mean something special in parallel to Jesus' words already quoted. She says: "What if the belief is consumption? God is more to a man than his belief, and the less we acknowledge matter or its laws, the more immortality we possess."

Jesus said that it is God's "good pleasure" to give us good. God's will and why supercedes any so-called evil in our experience.

### BIBLE VERSE

Look unto me, and be ye saved; all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there is none else. Isaiah 45:22

Safe Van Alstyne Allen

God is more to man than any evil, more to us than all our fears, regardless of what those fears are. To stop fearing evil we must realize finally that in God's universe of good — and there is only one universe — evil is unreal, unknown. So even in the midst of fear in our human experience — of belief in what is not of God — we can trust in true substance, in the substance of good. We need not be afraid even of our fears, because God's goodness and love for us is all that really is.

There is peace here for us, at this very moment. And a genuine outpouring of good from the Father to nourish that peace.

\*Luke 12:32; \*\*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 339; †Science and Health, p. 425.

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# OPINION AND...

## UNESCO in danger

By David Anable

United Nations, N.Y. "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defense of peace must be built."

Now there's a splendidly resounding sentiment — straight from the Preamble of UNESCO's 1945 Constitution. Today the big question is: What is in the minds of the men and women now in Nairobi for UNESCO's biennial General Conference — confrontation or "peace"?

The UN's Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization has reached a turning point. If the explosive air of political polarization which has marked UNESCO's recent past continues, then it is entirely possible that the organization will split apart. Certainly pressure will mount for an American withdrawal.

If, on the other hand, "peace" is uppermost in the minds of delegates, then clear opportunities for compromise exist. That in turn could paved the way for revived American and Western participation in an organization which over the past 30 years has made real and positive contributions to world education and culture. It will be a sad day for what must become an increasingly neighborly world if this chance for cooperation is missed.

The next few weeks in Nairobi will be crucial. From the point of view of the West, especially the United States, two big issues tower over all the others: the attitude of UNESCO's 137 members toward Israel, and toward free-

dom of information. Both are prickly, sensitive subjects. But it's worth trying to examine them with an impartial, Martian-like gaze as possible before the Nairobi debate gets too excited:

Israel. At the last UNESCO General Conference in 1974 three decisions were taken which vitally affected Israel. Together they were seen in Washington as essentially political. The result was a U.S. congressional amendment cutting off American dues to UNESCO until "concrete steps" were taken to correct them.

Today the U.S., which normally foots one quarter of UNESCO's budget, owes it some \$30 million.

The first of those 1974 decisions was to withhold UNESCO aid to Israel until it respected earlier UNESCO calls to stop archaeological digs near Muslim and Jewish holy places in east Jerusalem. Today, however, the excavations still are continuing and there is virtually no hope at all of compromise on this dispute, in the foreseeable future.

The second 1974 decision was a vote not to include Israel in one of the UNESCO regional groups through which much of the organization's work is done. Here a way out is possible. The third of those 1974 decisions was to withhold UNESCO aid to Israel until it respected earlier UNESCO calls to stop archaeological digs near Muslim and Jewish holy places in east Jerusalem. Today, however, the excavations still are continuing and there is virtually no hope at all of compromise on this dispute, in the foreseeable future.

Information. For some years UNESCO has been discussing how to build up information networks and the mass media in developing nations. It is a natural part of the emergence of these nations from the colonial era when all communications went to and from London or Paris or Brussels or other European capitals.

Because many young nations do not have the thriving private sector needed to support a Western-style free press, governments tend to become involved. That's understandable. So too is the anxiety, not always justified, that "news" is all one way — from the rich world to the poor in a culture-submerging flood.

What has alarmed Western observers of late, however, has been an apparent subversion of the debate by totalitarian governments for their own ends. UNESCO-sponsored meetings (though not UNESCO itself) have echoed with calls for greater government control over the media, boding ill not just for the developing world's press but for Western correspondents and news agencies too.

The third 1974 decision took the form of a resolution condemning Israel's educational policies in the occupied territories. UNESCO Director General Amadou M'Bow was asked to assume the responsibility instead. The Arabs have made it clear that this dispute will be their main target in Nairobi.

Much now hangs around whether, and in what form, Israel will accept a UNESCO mission to examine the situation... plus the Arab reaction. Compromise will be difficult, but perhaps not impossible.

At best, therefore, a two-out-of-three success ratio on these Israeli issues is possible. If that is achieved the U.S. administration is expected to argue that UNESCO's "downhill" trend is represented, in their eyes, in an attempt by the Russians and East Europeans to gain international "sanctification" for their rigidly state-directed media.

It is likely that the declaration will be handed over to a new 25-member committee specifically set up to handle, behind the scenes, precisely such hotly contested issues. But if this, or other information-related proposals, are pushed through the conference against Western opposition the reaction is certain to be strong.

Hence the danger of a UNESCO split if both the Israeli and information issues end in bitter disagreement — and the hopes of reconciliation if both can be at least partially turned aside.

Mr. Anable is the Monitor's correspondent of the United Nations.

## Jazz violins — and what else is not new?

By Melvin Maddocks

Wouldn't it be nice if nostalgia just went away? Then we could all feel nostalgic for nostalgia and sit around musing: "Remember the good old days when we remembered the good old days?"

Alas, for the moment nostalgia seems here to stay, and our standard question is: "What else is not new?"

"King Kong" has returned, chest a-thumping. Saar, Roebuck boasts a whole furniture collection classified as "Victorian Reproductions." In fashions everything but the hoop skirt is back. And that isn't meant as a suggestion.

One's heart also sinks a bit to read the advertisement, "Paul Whiteman Rediscovered," and to hear a 28-piece band in 1920s livery solemnly playing the slightly ricky-tick arrangements of the self-styled "King of Jazz," straight from the archives. The cornetist proclaiming to reproduce the notes of Bix Beiderbecke even uses a vintage hat as his mute.

Ah, the compulsions of the Age of the Replicas!

The latest specialty of nostalgia appears to be to revive old jazz violinists, and another alumnae of the Paul Whiteman Orchestra — no replica, he — is very much with us these days: Joe Venuti, America's greatest living jazz violinist.

"Ancient is beautiful" according to the games of revival, and Venuti seems willing to let people think he is an octogenarian, all in the best interests of nostalgia. Actually, Giuseppe Venuti was born aboard ship Sept. 1, 1893, in transit from Italy to (as it turned out) South Philadelphia.

South Philadelphia is noted as the home of musicians and prizefighters. If Venuti appeared on "What's My Line?" the shrewd guess would be: prizefighter. A big, barrel-chested man, Venuti once supported Jack Benny in a vaudeville act, during which Benny quipped: "This man will take on anyone in the house."

Before he starts playing, Venuti still looks like a superannuated bouncer, waiting to hand on the instrument to its proper owner with a mumbled threat as he comes panting on the stand — late agago. When Venuti tunes up, such confusion vanishes. He may still have the lock-room sense of humor that nabs the show of a time-tapping piano player to the floor — Bing Crosby, still another Whiteman alumnaus, swears to the story — but Venuti is an accomplished musician who was once offered the Detroit Symphony. In his recorded duets with Yehudi Menuhin he is by no means disgraced as a technician.

Listening to Venuti with his South Philadelphia friend, the guitarist Eddie Lang, on 1920s recordings like "I Got Rhythm" and "Some of These Days," one hears the Venuti of today — this tough bear of a man with the delicately dancing attack that never exceeds his reach, but

never falls short either. For here is one of those talents kept vital by being true to itself rather than by self-revision and grand illusions of development.

The violin as a jazz instrument has its limits. It lacks volume. As for tone, there is almost no way to give a violin a fine jazz rasp — the roughened voice that sings the blues. Incurably cheerful as a cricket when it awags, the violin can barely play the blues at all. Everything the violin can do in jazz its wind counterpart, the clarinet, can do better. Yet Venuti — like Eddie South, like Stuff Smith, like Ray Nance — has triumphed over the natural instinct of the violin to play Bach, without vulgarizing the instrument in the process.

Nostalgia likes to travel in pairs, and so there is another jazz violinist staging a second tour-of-revival in the States — Stephane Grappelli, who became famous as a member of the Quintet of the Hot Club of France over 40 years ago, playing first fiddle to Django Reinhardt's guitar.

If Venuti looks like an old heavyweight champ, Grappelli looks like a French Impressionist painter, as impersonated by Maurice Chevalier. He can play even "Sweet Georgia Brown" with aristocratic elegance, plus a touch of gypsy-soul. He is the most humorous of jazz violinists.

Venuti and Grappelli are nostalgia as living continuity rather than flash-frozen-and-quick-thawed past. May they both be fiddling long after both King Kong's have been wiped out by a squadron of moths.

## Australia's Governor-General: a target for tomatoes

By Denis Warner

Melbourne. Sir John Kerr, dismissed by William McMahon, and installed a caretaker government and called an immediate election.

Under the Constitution, the governor-general appointed by the Queen on the advice of the Australian Government, is vested in certain limited circumstances, with power to dissolve Parliament. In practice, until November 11 last year, these powers had been used only on the advice of the prime minister.

When the electorate confirmed Malcolm Fraser in office by an overwhelming vote, it seemed that Sir John's bold decision to break precedent had been vindicated and that the constitutional hubbub would soon die down.

If anything, it appears to have gained strength and significance. Angry Labor supporters have not forgiven Sir John and a small minority have been keeping up a noisy barrage against him ever since.

He is sometimes heckled, boycotted, hooted,

and even threatened with physical violence. The most among the liberals who see change as inevitable. And a public meeting in Sydney calling for a move toward a republic was able to command well-known speakers and a large audience.

As an interim measure, the appointment of Prince Charles as Governor-General has been suggested. After all he attended a school in Victoria for a while and is well known and liked in Australia.

Another idea suggested by Mr. Snedden is that Australia could establish its own royal family. Just how this could be done is difficult to imagine.

In distant days, Australians did not think it uncharitable for federal and state governments to seek the Queen's approval to appoint distinguished British soldiers "borrowed" with reiteration as governor-general or state governor.

But as Britain has drawn nearer to Europe and Australia's own international associations

# COMMENTARY

By Joseph C. Harsch

## The U.S. and Yugoslavia

By Ross N. Munro

Events in China of the past several weeks may constitute one of the most momentous shifts in the history of communism since Karl Marx first put pen to paper.

What foreign radicals fear is that communism has lost its second chance. Soviet Russia was communism's first chance, a source of hope and inspiration for leftists around the world during much of the first half of this century. It turned sour for some when Russia sought a temporary alliance with the Nazis in 1939 and when it crushed Eastern Europe in the 1940s and 1950s.

But do the Soviets understand this? Would they keep hands off if they thought they saw a chance in drag Yugoslavia back into their Warsaw Pact community?

The danger is precisely that a chance might open up and that the Soviets would be unable to resist the temptation to seize it.

Marshal Tito, who is to Yugoslavia what Mao Tse-tung was to China — a mixture of folk hero, bass, and king — is 88 years of age. He has done his considerable utmost over 30 years to forge his country into a true and lasting political union. But Yugoslavia is the leastard country in all Europe to unify. No other is divided so many ways by such complex cultural and ethnic differences going back even to the time Constantine divided the Roman Empire (395 A.D.). The Dalmatian Coast was left in the Western empire speaking Latin. The interior of Yugoslavia as examples of places where "a successful attack on either would affect the world equilibrium and would affect the calculations of other countries, and therefore could in time affect American security, even if it didn't do immediately."

A particular point in the Kissinger argument is of first importance. He noted that there are two different kinds of American interests in the world. There are the former treaty confederates to the NATO alliance, in Japan, in Australia and New Zealand, etc. There are also areas in the world where "whether we have an obligation or not, we might feel our security threatened." He cited both China and Yugoslavia as examples of places where "a successful attack on either would affect the world equilibrium and would affect the calculations of other countries, and therefore could in time affect American security, even if it didn't do immediately."

Governor Carter was probably correct in one sense. It is unlikely that the United States would actually send its armed forces "in" to Yugoslavia "even if the Soviet Union sent in troops."

In the event of a crisis over Yugoslavia other methods than over U.S. military intervention would probably be used to counter Soviet intervention.

Yugoslavia has not been welded into a homogeneous culture. It can't be, anymore than the Catholics and Protestants of Ulster can be welded into a single people. There are strains between these disparate peoples. Some of them are foolish enough to think that bringing in the Russians would help them. It is conceivable that in the turmoil of a struggle over the succession to Marshal Tito our friends might call for Soviet help. And the Soviets might be foolish enough to respond. They have a substantial armed force in position to drive into northern Yugoslavia.

However, this is a subject deserving the most thoughtful and careful attention because an international crisis over Yugoslavia could happen at any moment, and could easily become overnight a far more serious problem for the United States than the Middle East or southern Africa.

Yugoslavia is a "communist" country. It may be difficult for some Americans to appreciate that a threat by one communist country to another communist country could concern the United States. But Yugoslavia is a most unusual type of communist country. Its communism is not recognized as such in Moscow. The private sector of the economy is substantial and widening. It trades mostly with the West. It is out of a member of the Warsaw Pact. It is the leader of the "nonaligned" movement in the world. Its domestic and foreign policies are regarded in Moscow as heretical. It has been

periodic political convulsions every seven to 10 years which would keep the emerging elite in check, which would prevent the rise of a new class, and which would keep China on the road to an egalitarian society.

Mao's widow, Chiang Ching, and the three other radicals who have been purged were the chief proponents of this line.

Whether they took this position for ultimately selfish reasons, as a justification for their own attempts to acquire power, is almost a secondary question in historical terms. What was important was that they were the upholders of this Maoist line favoring confrontational attacks on the emerging new class end, now that they have been purged, there are no leaders on the horizon who appear committed to this line.

In recent years radicals at the grass-roots level around China could criticize factory managers and party officials knowing that their radical allies in Peking would come to their aid if local officials tried to suppress them. Both the local and the Peking radicals might have been pursuing their own selfish aims but, again, what is important is that they were up-

holding the anti-clerical strain of Maoism.

Now the powerful radicals and the center on whom the local radicals relied have been wiped out and so the power equation in China, right down to the factory level, has been changed overnight.

Today we can say with a high degree of certainty that there will never be another episode in China like the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s which dislodged, or at least chastened, thousands of government bureaucrats and party officials. This is not to say there will not be major conflicts, even violent ones, in China in the future. One can easily write scenarios of future clashes based on class, age, region, or species interest but the prospects for a successful challenge to communism are dim.

In the short run this will pay tremendous dividends. The next decade, in fact, may well be the golden decade for 20th-century China. The end of the radicals' stifling hold on culture and life-style, for one thing, will make China a more amenable place to live in. There will be more latitude given to artistic expression and the eschewing of drabness in clothing and life-style will no longer be automatically considered counterrevolutionary.

On the economic front the next decade should witness a spurt in industrial and agricultural development and a discernible rise in the standard of living. This is because the bureaucrats and officials who have been attacked and harassed for 10 years will no longer have to be so cautious and will be able to take forceful charge of the economy and the bureaucracy.

But the opposite side of this coin is that as they take charge, as they put the goal of economic growth in first place, they and the factory managers and the commune leaders will all acquire more power and ultimately more privilege. That's a roundabout way of saying that a new class will be firmly in charge of China a decade from now.

There is little doubt that Hua Kuo-fang and his allies recognize this danger and will try to counteract it. We can expect to witness notable political campaigns in the coming months and years. Emissaries in education, the arrogance of bureaucrats, the gap between factory managers and their workers, bourgeois life-styles — all of these things will come under regular attack in political campaigns.

The catch is that these campaigners are going to remain relatively superficial if there's no one at the top of the political structure like Mao Tse-tung — or the four purged radicals who surrounded him in his last years — who committed to cutting the elite down to size even at the cost of political turmoil and economic dislocation.

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## Unresolved world issues — 20 years later

By Robert R. Bowie

Twenty years ago in 1956 four events were happening just about this time. One was the Suez crisis, when Israel, Britain, and France attacked Egypt in vain effort to unseat Nasser. The second was the brutal Soviet repression of the Hungarian revolution. The third was the final drafting of the treaties for the European Economic Community. And the fourth was a report by a special NATO committee on improving consultation among the Atlantic nations on nonmilitary matters.

These events of 20 years ago are more than past history. These issues are still on the agenda of unfinished business.

Carey the U.S. and other major energy users need an adequate long-term policy for providing and conserving energy, which they have yet to develop. And the spread of nuclear weapons is still a threat to peace and more dependent on imported energy.

1. The Arab-Israeli conflict, which was one facet of the Suez crisis, is still unsettled. The intervening years have seen countless raids and counterattacks and wars in 1967 and 1973. The armistices, like the Sinai agreement of last year, have left all the central issues unresolved. That conflict must not be allowed to fester much longer. An overall settlement based on UN Resolution 242 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians should be high priority. To achieve it the United States will need to press both sides to make the concessions required for a stable solution.

2. In 20 years the European Economic Community has created its common market and agricultural program and has added Britain and two other members. But for many years, the progress of the community was impeded by British hesitation and de Gaulle's obstruction, which blocked economic and political union.

3. The blocking of the Suez Canal in 1956 also dramatized how vulnerable Western Europe is to oil imports. The oil embargo of 1973, and other measures, have led to a sharp increase in oil prices and a

year the U.S. has too often neglected such an operation, indeed more open diplomacy is essential for it to flourish at all levels. That is to require change.

4. Twenty years ago, the needs of the less developed countries (LDCs) were beginning to receive some attention. Indeed, Truman launched Point Four assistance in 1949, but it has taken time to grasp the complexity of development and to obtain assistance from East-West rivalry.

The problems of poverty, population, food and growth — and the whole relation with the LDCs — are critical to a decent international order. Yet they have not been getting the priority which they deserve, and which they will require for many years to come.

Looking back 20 years seems to me to put the current tasks of foreign policy both old and new into perspective. It should remind us that shaping a new global order is a long and difficult job. It will take steady and coherent efforts to achieve constructive cooperation among the advanced democracies, with the various LDCs, and, as feasible, with adversaries. It cannot be done by ad hoc or short-term measures. And cannot be postponed.

Dr. Bowie is a member of the Harvard Center for International Affairs and of the Harvard faculty.